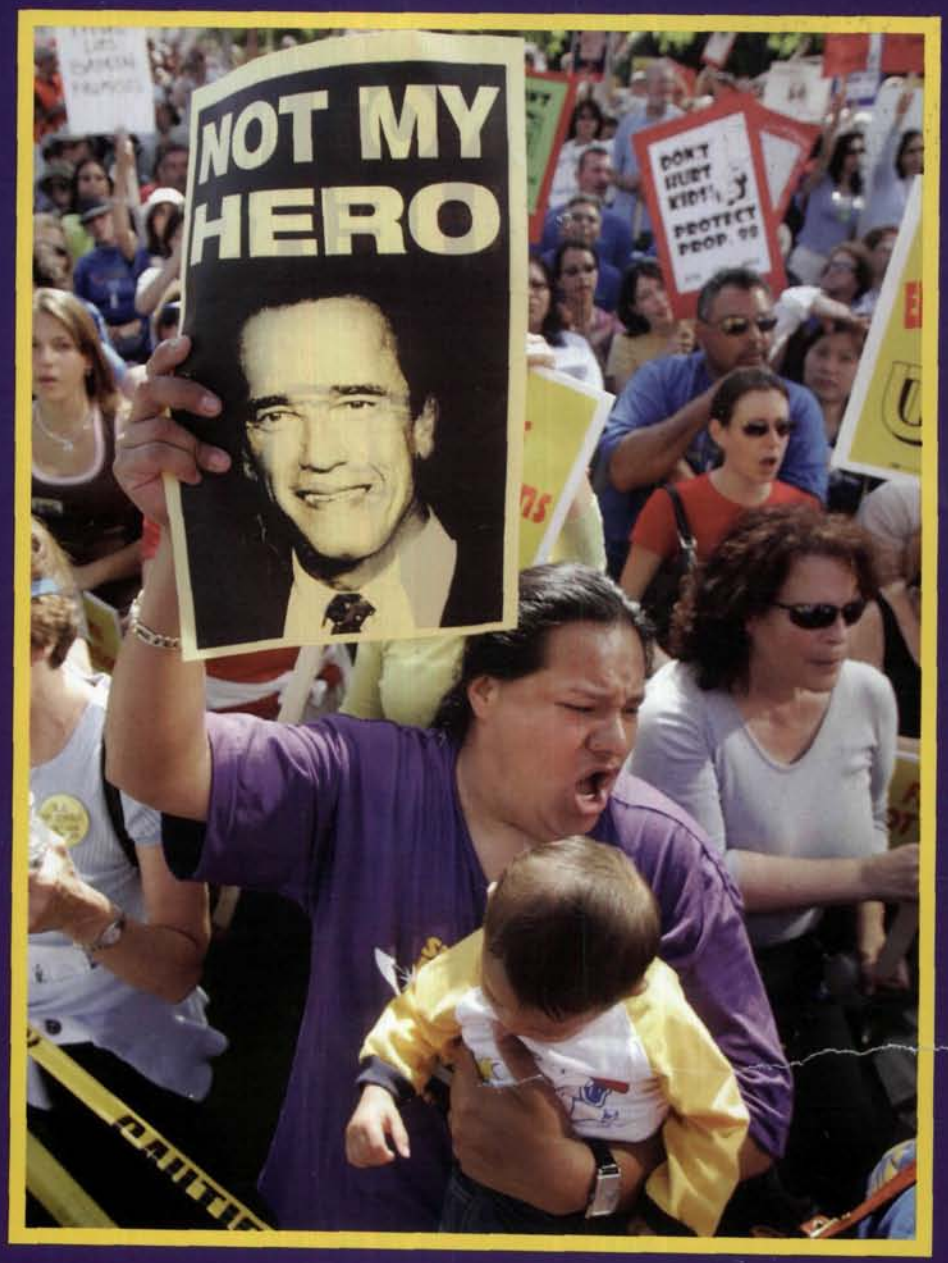
CALIFORNIA ★ POLITICAL
REVIEW
JULY/AUGUST 2005 • VOLUME 16 • NUMBER 4 • $4.95

Farewell to the Woman Question
Midge Decter 15

Conservative prospects,
Conservative challenges
A conversation with Bill Rusher 18



Ron Keeva Unz
555 Bryant St #371
Palo Alto, CA 94301

g labor's political battering rams

How labor bosses spend forced dues to call the shots in Sacramento 23

www.cppf.us

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

An Opening for Common Sense

CALIFORNIA★POLITICAL
REVIEW
High Stakes Gamble
The Governor and the Legislature play for all the chips
A terrible thing to waste
Why liberals want the high school exit exam quashed
Ray Haynes

"The beginning of political wisdom is the recognition that liberalism is at the end of its intellectual tether."
— Irving Kristol

What used to be called "liberalism" has degenerated into reflexive attacks on everything from the family car to free speech to the Boy Scouts — a movement without a mind and with nowhere to lead. Common sense is the cure — find it in the pages of *California Political Review*. Subscribe today!

I can't tell you how impressed I am with California Political Review. — **William A. Rusher**

California Political Review is filling a critical need in the Golden State. — **Bruce Herschensohn**

To order, visit our website (www.cppf.us) or call: 1-800-887-7676

or send this form to the address below. Thank you.

Send me a full year of *California Political Review* (SIX bimonthly issues PLUS, every Friday, *Capitol Watch* by e-mail) for the Special NEW SUBSCRIBER rate of just $19.95 — more than 32% off the cover price!

Name _____
Please Print

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

E-mail address (Required to receive Capitol Watch) _____

___ Check (payable to the California Public Policy Foundation) ___ Credit Card: ___ MC ___ Visa

Credit Card # _____ Exp. Date _____ Signature _____

CALIFORNIA★POLITICAL REVIEW

Must reading for informed Conservatives

California Political Review, P.O. Box 931 Camarillo, California 93011-0931, *www.cppf.us*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CALIFORNIA★POLITICAL
REVIEW

JULY/AUGUST 2005 • VOLUME 16 • NUMBER 4

FEATURES

COVER ARTICLE: Big labor's political battering rams 23
By Sam Paredes — How union bosses spend forced dues to call the shots in Sacramento.

Business Trends – New Department By William E. Simon, Jr. 4
A full agenda of job-killer bills shows the left still sees employers as the enemy.

Farewell to the Woman Question By Midge Decter 15
Perhaps an ethos that rewards intelligent, well-off people for being downright stupid deserves to be damaged.

Two Declarations of Independence By William R. Allen 17
Political liberty and economic freedom supplement and sustain each other.

Conservative prospects, conservative challenges 18
A conversation with Bill Rusher.

Spirit of the Recall: No longer listening By Christopher Shelton 21
Democrats heed the unions' call: forget the budget, we have paycheck protection to fight!

The moral case for reform By John Kurzweil 28
Despair fuels the *status quo;* November offers a chance to be free people again.

DEPARTMENTS

Correspondence 2
Sacramento Spectator 3
Business Trends By William E. Simon, Jr 4
The Front Line By Allen E. Brandstater 5
Facts on Gun Control By Sam Paredes 6
The Working Press By George Neumayr 8
Musings By Lyn Nofizger 9
The Law By Harold Johnson 11
On Campus By Michael P. Davidson 13

ARTS & CULTURE

Criticus By G.B. Tennyson 32

Juneteenth, anyone? A look at the origins and nature of holidays, from Emancipation's arrival in Texas to Pumpkin Pie Day and the feast day of St. Anthony of Padua. Lost anything recently?

A PUBLICATION OF THE CALIFORNIA PUBLIC POLICY FOUNDATION

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CALIFORNIA★POLITICAL
REVIEW

A PUBLICATION OF THE
CALIFORNIA PUBLIC POLICY FOUNDATION

JOHN KURZWEIL
EDITOR & PUBLISHER

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS
DAN BRENNAN
LEON MCKINNEY • *NATIONAL CORRESPONDENT*
M. DAVID STIRLING • *BUREAUCRACY WATCH*
SAM PAREDES • *SECOND AMENDMENT CORRESPONDENT*
GEORGE NEUMAYR • *THE WORKING PRESS*
RAY HAYNES • *THE FRONT LINE*
G.B. TENNYSON • *ARTS & CULTURE*

GENE FOLEY • *BUSINESS MANAGER*
SHAWN STEEL • *LEGAL ADVISOR*

EDITORIAL BOARD
JAMES BEMIS, DANIEL J. GRIMM
HAROLD JOHNSON, MANUEL S. KLAUSNER,
JOHN KURZWEIL, GEORGE NEUMAYR
WILLIAM RUSHER, WILLIAM E. SARACINO
ANDREW ZEPEDA

California Political Review (ISSN 1075-3079) is published bimonthly by the California Public Policy Foundation. Send address changes, manuscripts, and Correspondence to: Editor, *California Political Review*, Post Office Box 931, Camarillo, CA 93011-0931. Correspondence may be condensed due to space limitations. Unsolicited manuscripts should be accompanied by a stamped, self-addressed envelope. Signed articles express their authors' opinions and do not necessarily reflect the views of the California Public Policy Foundation which does not endorse or oppose candidates or intervene in any candidate election campaign. Unsigned editorials express the editors' opinions and not necessarily the views of the California Public Policy Foundation. Rates: $24.95 yearly (six issues). Outside U.S. add $6/year surface, $20 for airmail. *California Political Review* is copyright © 2005 by the California Public Policy Foundation.

California Political Review (ISSN 1075-3079) is published bimonthly for $24.95 per year by the California Public Policy Foundation, 4963 Densmore Avenue, Encino, CA 91436. Periodical Postage Paid at Van Nuys, CA, and additional mailing offices. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *California Political Review*, P.O. Box 931, Camarillo, CA 93011-0931.

CORRESPONDENCE

A terrible thing to waste

The bill Ray Haynes discusses ("Why liberals want the high school exit exam quashed," *CPR*, May/June), SB 517, was quietly passed by the Democrat majority on the Senate floor June 2 and sent to the state Assembly, where it has been referred to the Education Committee. So the left continues to serve its big labor/public schools establishment constitutents and betray its comical façade of concern for ordinary people against power. No doubt Assembly Democrats will pass this travesty in due course as well.

Thank you for exposing this tragic bit of everyday hypocricy by the Democrat majorities in our Legislature. I hope the governor, who has expressed his strong support for restoring our schools, vetoes this bill if it ever comes to his desk.

Jonathan Elkirk
San Diego

'True Feminism'?

Kathleen O'Connell-Sundaram's gentle essay ("True Feminism," *CPR*, May/June) on a Catholic women's conference and "true feminism," "real lives," "ready for greater introspection about the feminism that has profoundly impacted their lives both positively and negatively," "encouraged to be a positive influence on society," etc., should serve as a wake-up call for American men to start getting serious about the sexes again but probably won't. American men (and increasingly Western men) suffer a profound hebetude when it comes to the sexes. When Henry Adams asked his dinner party why the American woman was a failure, she responded without hesitation, "Because the American man is a failure!" That was over century ago and things have only gotten worse, as if Biblical Adam's offspring will never learn their lesson. (Except during pre-feminist periods, as on the Titanic.) In this issue of *CPR*, Ms. O-S and Criticus (G. B. Tennyson, "Theories of Everything") provide good examples.

Woman needs man to complement her and fully understand her role (and vice versa), which *ironically* with her nurturing nature she usually doesn't quite comprehend. (Nor does modern Western man.) As the sage put it, women don't understand love, they are love. "Must she define herself in comparison with men?" Ms. O-S asks as though this would be demeaning. She prefers to "share an equal dignity rooted in complementarity," as though that would avoid the dreaded "comparison." She resorts to Catholic rhetoric without fully understanding its deep ramifications going all the way back to Pauline strictures. In fact, despite modern trends of "individual rights" and impossible "sex equality" (a geometric term, not biological), and misguided statutes banning "sex discrimination," the human sexes remain the central dichotomy of human life and deserve far more thought. Her sex's postmodern struggle to redefine itself is fruitless without resort to God, which they could learn more about in the Catholic Catechism than in "women's conferences," "women's studies," or sterile non-discrimination law.

Mr. Tennyson has the right instincts regarding the sexes but suffers from lack of serious reading about them. For one thing, he disqualifies himself at the outset by adopting the feminist rhetoric of "gender," thus revealing unfamiliarity with the subject. Here's what Prof. Harold O.J. Brown writes on the subject:

> This is not only absurd, it is actually evil, and leads, to use the language of seventeenth-century political philosopher Johannes Althusius, "to the most

(Please turn to page 30)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

SACRAMENTO SPECTATOR

It's clear George Gershwin had never visited Sacramento when he wrote his song with the lyrics "Summertime, and the livin is easy." Triple-digit heat has arrived for its annual months-long visit to the capital city. Perhaps it's here to make up for the lack of triple-digit IQs among Capitol Democrats.

The recently agreed-to budget "accord" included spending that was fully 10 percent higher than last year's plan, and double the 5 percent growth of benchmark population/inflation growth. It once again spends more money than the state is taking in. You'd think the big spenders would be dancing in the streets. Instead we got the predictable chorus of "cruel cuts" and "failure to fully fund," etc.

Part of the reason is that the spenders' glass was indeed only half full. Working with unified GOP caucuses in both houses (kudos to Kevin McCarthy and Dick Ackerman), Governor Arnold Schwarzenegger achieved two significant victories in this budget. The first was directing $2.5 billion to one-time expenditures for transportation and to repay debt to local government. This put tax dollars into desperately-needed backlogged transportation projects and returned money "borrowed" (local officials would say "stolen") from them in earlier budgets.

Equally significant, this maneuver kept the dollars out of the budget "baseline," thereby not adding them to the automatic future growth of the budget. This automatic baseline budget growth — meaning that the spending on these items can never go down in the future — is a favorite ploy of Democrats and their tax-eating allies. This simple victory by the GOP avoided billions in future spending. Hence Democrat grousing.

Only because I know you rely on my spectating skills did I spend the past few weekends on the Sacramento river, both on boats and prowling through the bars and restaurants that line the waterway. What I picked up — besides the knowledge that Mojitos are delicious on a hot summer afternoon but pack a hidden wallop the next morning — is that the Democrats see defeating the "paycheck protection" initiative (the measure that would make union bosses obtain individual members' permission — fat chance — before taking and spending union dues on politics) as their most important priority in the November special election.

Whilst pretending to fuss over some spilt guacamole, I heard a high-ranking Democrat staffer say "we'd be willing to give up anything else on the ballot if that was the price to defeat paycheck protection."

The reason is clear: paycheck protection would cut the legs off the Democrat/union automatic money machine. It would bring an unheard-of level of democracy to the unions, and decimate union honchos' ability to take the union on crusades opposed by the rank and file.

The flip side of the coin *should* be that the GOP also sees paycheck protection for the potential watershed it is. Frankly I'm not sure it outweighs redistricting reform in the long run. But I *am* sure that victory on both redistricting and paycheck protection would almost certainly mean Republicans on the road to majorities in the next few years.

So conservatives can only hope that the governor and other GOP worthies — moneymen and strategists, for instance — have their act together as the campaign for these measures begins in earnest. With my Advil and sunscreen in hand, I pledge to continue my relentless pursuit of information for my constant readers, and keep you

— A. P. C.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Business Trends

The Democrats' vision for business

A full agenda of job-killer bills shows the left still sees employers and jobs as the enemy.

WILLIAM E. SIMON, JR.

As Governor Arnold Schwarzenegger finds himself waging the fight of his life — having taken seriously the mandate the people handed him when they recalled Gray Davis, and the state's unreformed political establishment consequently showing just how firmly entrenched it is — it is illustrative to see how the Democrats in the state Legislature have been using the power entrusted to them by the people: to see, in action, the kinds of things they are fighting so hard to keep on doing. It also illustrates the climate in which employers in small, medium, and big business must attempt to operate and thrive.

The state Chamber of Commerce studies all business legislation and publishes lists of what it calls "job-killer" bills among those under consideration in the state Legislature. Let's examine just five of the most egregious examples now on the Democrats' agenda.

AB 48: MINIMUM WAGE HIKE

Liberals argue that minimum wage controls will help workers who would, without them, have to try to survive on impossibly low levels of income. Let's see: AB 48 raises the state minimum wage to $7.25 in 2006 and to $7.75 in 2007. It also indexes the controls every year in the future, giving California the nation's highest minimum wage rate. This bill is expected to cause employer expenses to rise by more than $2 billion each year. According to the liberal argument, the effect will be that workers will at least receive a "living wage" — beyond that, they seem to imply that wealthy business owners may have to get along on a little less, but that won't hurt them really, and spreading the wealth more fairly is only just, is it not?

We can leave aside the moral question of how just it is to be generous with other peoples' money (but without their consent), because the minimum wage premise — that it helps those workers most in need — is simply false. A new Public Policy Institute of California report (reaffirming every serious study of minimum wage laws throughout history) finds that a 50 percent increase in state-imposed minimum wage levels causes a 6 percent loss in employment for the lowest skilled workers, the very people we are told the minimum wage will help.

"Any wage floor is a tax on using low-skilled labor," PPIC fellow David Neumark told *Sacramento Bee* columnist Daniel Weintraub. "If you hire low-skilled guys, it is going to cost you more than it did before. So you economize. You use less of them." Neumark, working with Scott Adams, an assistant professor at the University of Wisconsin, examined wage, employment, and poverty data in 28 metropolitan areas that have imposed minimum wage controls on labor markets since 1995.

"One of the persistent problems in public policy," Weintraub commented, "is that politicians, when they make decisions, too often refuse to acknowledge the trade-offs they face .... they adopt regulations without looking closely enough at how the new rules will change the behavior of the regulated."

In addition to throwing out of work many people least able to survive unemployment, the higher wage control will raise costs to consumers and drive employers to other states. All of this is

2002 Republican nominee for California governor, William E. Simon, Jr., serves as co-chairman of William E. Simon & Sons, a private investment firm and merchant bank, of the William E. Simon Foundation, and of the Cynthia L. and William E. Simon, Jr., Foundation.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE FRONT LINE

Back to the Future

by Allen E. Brandstater

It was like an actual trip in H.G. Wells' time machine: returning to the enthusiasm and energy of the Goldwater and Reagan campaigns of the 1960s. It was the first annual "Freedom Conference," sponsored June 4 by the California Club for Growth at the Crowne Plaza Hotel near Los Angeles International Airport; speaking more graphically, it was an all-day slugfest against statists of the left.

If there is any other organization that could assemble a comparable roster of thinkers, activists, office holders, economists, tax reformers, analysts, contributors, old-timers, newcomers, radio talk hosts, film-makers, and pollsters — well, they have not done it. Club for Growth did.

Spearheaded by former California GOP Chairman Shawn Steel and former Assemblyman Tony Strickland, the California Club gathered more than 250 enthusiasts for the conference to learn about issues ranging from Governor Arnold Schwarznegger's special election initiatives to blogging the Internet and learning how to defeat Hillary (the last topic outlined by imported all-things-Clinton-expert Dick Morris).

Allen E. Brandstater, who writes from Glendale, is a registered capitalist, disgruntled Republican, and raconteur of California's recondite yet glorious past.

The day featured more than two dozen speakers and panelists including state Senator Tom McClintock, Dr. Art Laffer, pollster Dick Morris, Stephen Moore (national Club for Growth founder, now a *Wall Street Journal* editorial page editor), and Congressman Dana Rohrabacher. Syndicated radio host Larry Elder presented the 2005 RINO ("Republican In Name Only")

Awards to Alaska's pork-barrel-artist U.S. Senator Ted Stevens and tax hike favoring GOP Assemblyman Keith Richman.

Among the day's many hits, early morning key-noter Tom McClintock stood out, earning special mention for his public speaking and platform skills as well as his unique appreciation of first principles combined with a keen grasp of practical political realities. Notwithstanding the never-ending Democrat/media campaign to make "liberal California" our state's official name, he reminded the crowd that "The people of California — when they are paying attention to the debate and actually listening to the candidates — agree with us in overwhelming numbers."

Art Laffer explained the central truth behind the "Laffer Curve" – that people adapt to government policies, particularly tax rate hikes and cuts, in ways that explain why high rates fail and low ones succeed — a truth central to understanding the Ronald Reagan restoration of the American economy.

Dick Morris fascinated the crowd explaining first the voter numbers and political reasons behind Bush's national victory, and then outlining why he believes the strongest candidate to defeat Sen. Hillary Clinton for president in 2008 would be Secretary of State Condoleeza Rice. "Not that she wants to run," Morris admitted, but going on to say "we must make her run." He cited draft-candidate movements that sent nominees to the White House as recently as Dwight D. Eisenhower.

As promised, California Club for Growth's first annual "Freedom Conference" stimulated, entertained, informed, and activated. Front line California grass roots activism is back, and is going under the title: Club for Growth.

CPR

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

being done, of course, just as the economy is starting to recover.

AB 6: INCOME TAX HIKE

Another plan to spend other peoples' money for them, AB 6 increases the personal income tax rates to 10 and 11 percent and the alternative minimum tax rate to 8.5 percent — again without "looking closely enough at how the new rules will change the behavior of the regulated." Increasing taxes will not resolve California's current budget crisis. The last time that was tried, in the early 1990s, state revenues dropped and didn't recover until all the new taxes were either repealed or allowed to expire.

BUT HIGHER taxes *can* further drain the private economy, dampening incentive to work and invest, and thus worsen the state's business climate and ability to create or even sustain current jobs. California is already the most expensive state in the country in which to do business. This bill will make it even more difficult for businesses to succeed. Who does that help?

SB 44: LOCAL AIR QUALITY STANDARDS

SB 44 forces local governments to adopt an air quality assessment in their development plans. Improving air quality in California is a worthy goal, but it's already regulated by the federal government, the California Air Resources Board, and regional air quality districts. Adding a new, expensive mandate to the local development planning process would only slow the housing growth needed to meet our population demand. To keep pace, California must build about 300,000 new housing units each year. We're now building about 100,000, with a severe shortage of affordable housing in the state. In fact, California is home to 9 of the 10 most expensive housing markets in the nation. *The Sacramento Bee* reported June 26 that "Statewide, the median resale home price — the

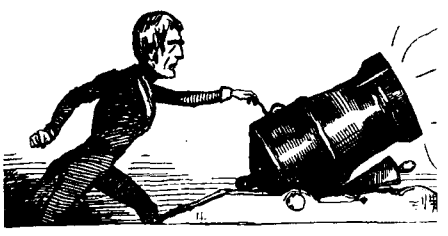
WHAT YOU HAVEN'T BEEN TOLD ABOUT GUN CONTROL

By SAM PAREDES

Two thousand five may by the Chinese year of the Rooster, but in anti-gun California it's the Year of the Bullet — the year the anti-gunners target ammunition as the demon *du jour*. It makes a warped sort of sense: They banned *some* semi-autos by calling them "assault weapons" but didn't get them all. They banned new "high capacity" magazines, but grandfathered in so many previously-owned mags that the ban is virtually unenforceable. They tried to ban so-called "Saturday Night Specials" by forcing new handgun models to pass a torture test before reaching dealers' shelves, but most "cheap handguns" passed. They banned buying more than one handgun a month, but sales haven't slowed.

Evidently frustrated at merely annoying law abiding gun owners, they've shifted their target to bullets. They want them serialized, engraved, and registered to purchasers. And they want them imprisoned with locks and keys at your local gun store and even at Wal-Mart. I'll explain.

Regular readers know about ammo serialization (SB 357) and micro-engraving (AB 352). Now, with AB 996, gun-hating Assemblyman Mark Ridley-Thomas wants retailers forbidden to sell, offer for sale, or display for sale any ammunition in a manner that allows the ammunition to be accessible to a purchaser without the assistance of the retailer or his employee.



The objectives the bill serves are many: It is intended to harrass and annoy further the gun haters' political opponents. It is intended to reaffirm yet again the bogus notion that shooting hardware, not bad people misusing it, is the threat society should fear. It is, above all, intended to drive out of the ammo business as many ammunition sellers as possible (only major retailers like Wal-Mart will be able to afford to operate under these restrictions). About all no one seriously expects it to do, if made law, is improve public safety.

These poultry pols are thinking that if they can demonize ammunition, reduce the number of ammo retailers, and further hassle ammo buyers, fewer firearms will be sold in the state, moving us closer to a gun-free California.

It's time for this rooster to meet Colonel Sanders .... CPR

Sam Paredes is executive director of Gun Owners of California.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

point at which half cost more and half less — reached $509,230 in April, according to the California Association of Realtors. Based on income, a home at this price would be affordable to only 17 percent of the state's households."

SB 174: NEW FRIVOLOUS LAWSUITS

SB 174 provides new incentives for plaintiffs and their attorneys to file lawsuits on minimum wage and overtime issues by creating two new types of class action "sue your boss" lawsuits. This legislation will encourage frivolous litigation by authorizing individual employees and their private attorneys to bring civil actions on behalf of the employee as well as on behalf of any current or former employees.

SB 757: GAS TAX HIKES

SB 757 requires an arbitrary cut in gasoline demand without any consideration given to population growth. In order to achieve a reduction in demand, draconian measures like those outlined in a joint California Energy Commission and Air Resources Board report might be implemented. These include:

- A new 50 cent-per-gallon gasoline tax, costing consumers $7 billion a year in higher taxes, or $70 billion in higher gasoline taxes over 10 years, not to mention 80,000 lost jobs.

- A new two cent-per-mile tax for every mile Californians drive, costing consumers $6 billion a year, or $60 billion over 10 years, and 65,000 lost jobs.

- Pay-at-the-Pump auto insurance adding 43 cents-per-gallon to the price of gasoline, costing consumers $2.4 billion a year, or $24 billion over 10 years, and 34,000 lost jobs.

- A new $3,500 tax on every SUV, minivan, and pickup truck bought by California consumers.

Public servants should champion the cause of business in California because it is the engine of our prosperity and of our independence as individuals and families.

What does it all mean for California business trends? These bills are a signal to people considering employing their creative energies in the California economy that legislative Democrats are, at the very least, unenthusiastic about businesses succeeding.

Consider that these imprudent legislative proposals come at a time the state's economy is particularly fragile, as attested by a report published last year by the California Business Roundtable. The report cited the following: nearly 40 percent of California employers plan to relocate jobs from the state, 50 percent have explicit policies to halt employment growth in the state, and the cost of doing business is 30 percent higher on average than in other western states.

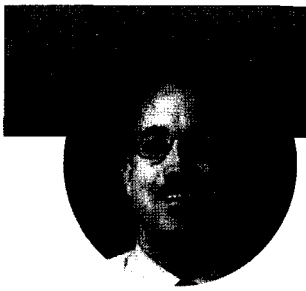
Unfortunately, California has become one of the most difficult places to achieve the American dream. We led the nation for decades in almost all the important quality of life categories, but now we're trending on a course of perpetual decline. The stark reality is that our quality of life is falling while our cost of living is rising. It's no wonder a recent Field Poll revealed that a large percentage of Californians deeply distrust government and those who govern.

GOVERNMENT'S ROLE is not to create wealth, but to create an environment where private enterprise can flourish, enriching everyone. As public servants, elected officials should champion the cause of business in California, particularly small business, because it is the engine of our prosperity and of our independence as individuals and families. Small firms represent about 99 percent of employers, employ about half of the private sector workforce, and generate 60 to 80 percent of net new jobs. Business — and the jobs it creates — are vitally important also in producing state tax revenue. Who would be hurt if the government assisted

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

small businesses and the hard-working people they employ by reducing taxes, encouraging investment, and removing obstacles to economic growth?

Business trends follow more than just the actions of those in power in Sacramento, but watching what they do, and noting the understanding and attitude toward the peoples' welfare that government's actions reflect, are still among the most informative ways of plotting the direction the state economy, the productive sector, and your job are heading.



The Working Press

Public Broadcasting's thin-skinned hypocrites

The PBS mob, so proud of its high-minded tolerance, demands all who question it be silenced.

GEORGE NEUMAYR

HELL HATH no fury like PBS liberals scorned. Doing the bidding of angry bureaucrats pacing the corridors of PBS, Democrats ganged up on Kenneth Tomlinson in late Spring/early Summer. Tomlinson is the Bush-appointed chairman of the Corporation for Public Broadcasting, which distributes funds to PBS. Tomlinson has made a modest, one might even say minor, attempt to bring philosophical balance to PBS. First, he criticized Bill Moyers for his baldly partisan show NOW (in one episode Moyers drew moral equivalence between American soldiers and beheading jihadists). Then he prodded PBS to air two innocuous conservative-oriented programs. That was all it took to trigger calls for his resignation. As of this writing, he still has the job, though the baying of Hillary Clinton and others continues.

This harassment of Tomlinson will ultimately backfire on the PBS nomenklatura, for it invites scrutiny not of *his* "politicization," but of theirs. That Tomlinson has complained about Bill Moyers and promoted two tame shows — one with Tucker Carlson, which isn't even on the air anymore now that he has gone to MSNBC, and the other with the *Wall Street Journal* editorial board — will strike most Americans as a reasonable, long overdue corrective to the taxpayer-funded network's obvious left-wing bias. What won't strike them as reasonable (if Republicans have enough spine to highlight the problem) is the liberals' monopolistic control of PBS.

The breathtakingly arrogant assumption driving the campaign against Tomlinson is that PBS belongs to liberals by some sort of divine right. They complain in direct proportion to their threatened privileges, all the while insisting that Americans should feel happy to pay higher taxes to finance what amounts to PBS infomercials for the Democrat Party and the ideological cultural left.

Media coverage of Tomlinson's persecution reflected the arrogance of an aggrieved ruling class pining over a minor diminution of its power at PBS. Starting from the ludicrous premise that liberalism is synonymous with editorial neutrality and independence, the media cast Tomlinson as "political" while his liberal critics at PBS were treated as "independent." This drawing of artificial lines is necessary to make the story sound compelling. But the story isn't at all alarming if people know that the so-called independent critics are Democrats and liberals who treat PBS tax dollars as their own personal piggy bank for ideological projects.

Under a picture of Bill Moyers in one of the *Washington Post's* stories about Tomlinson ran the caption: "Bill Moyers's PBS program is reported to have been monitored for 'anti-Bush' content." That was supposed to sound chilling. But what about recent press

George Neumayr is California Political Review's *press critic.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

complaints against tax dollars going to pro-Bush punditry from Armstrong Williams and Maggie Gallagher? If tax dollars shouldn't go to *pro*-Bush journalism, the press should object to tax dollars going to Bill Moyers' *anti*-Bush journalism. That Tomlinson objected to Moyers' anti-Bush content isn't any more threatening to editorial independence than the press's legitimate squawking about tax-financed right-wing punditry from Armstrong Williams.

THE MEDIA'S contrived contest of Tomlinson vs. PBS isn't politics vs. independence, but conservative politics vs. radical politics. And Tomlinson's "politics" is justified. It consists simply of ensuring that a government agency under George Bush's control adheres to the philosophical balance the law establishing PBS mandated. And anyway, Tomlinson is a *political* appointee. PBS staffers are not; they are, supposedly, nonpartisan journalists. The media caricature of the issue notices what the PBS folks are *supposed* — by law — to be, but ignores what they are. The political maneuvering of these "independent" journalistic "professionals" has included demands that Tomlinson stop hiring Republicans.

All of the attacks on Tomlinson are just empty noise, the usual frenzied mau-mauing of the left after anyone encroaches upon their undeserved fiefdoms. But if the Democrats want a renewed debate over PBS for the next few years, fine. Let's take a look at PBS President Pat Mitchell's politics. Mitchell, accorded the status of a dispassionate critic of Tomlinson by the press (she publicly rebuked him for challenging the — contain your laughter — editorial independence of Bill Moyers), is a former documentarian for Ted Turner and a Jane Fonda pal. How many Democrats has *she* hired?

And perhaps Congress could hold hearings on that PBS programming decision to run "Postcards from Buster," a cartoon Mitchell aired earlier this year until Bush appointees objected, which depicted a third-grade rabbit named Buster visiting post-Howard Dean, civil-unions Vermont for the spring maple harvest, during which Buster learns to adopt all the right attitudes about enlightened family composition from a stay with a lesbian couple and their children. The Bush team's objections were, of course, excoriated as "political," but not the cartoon.

✣ ✣ ✣

Believe it or not, I made some of these points on PBS itself. "The NewsHour" with Jim Lehrer, striving for faux balance, invited me on in June to debate a PBS station manager in Kansas City, a move that released an all-too-predictable tidal wave of hate mail denouncing me as a "Nazi" (the politically correct word for "devil"). I was the "embodiment of evil." Why? For saying PBS is a privileged playhouse for liberals ready to claw any conservative who dares ques-

Musings

Used to be that all you found in the middle of the road were white lines and dead skunks. No longer. They've been joined by seven Republican senators.

✣ ✣ ✣

The thought that the Republicans have a 10-vote edge in the United States senate is a snare and an illusion. Yes, there are 55 senators who call themselves Republicans and who were elected as Republicans but what is often overlooked is that half a dozen of them are genuine, certified, dyed-in-the-wool RINOs (Republicans in name only) and several more view themselves as above-partisanship statesmen. This means there are somewhere around 10 Republicans who in a pinch cannot be counted on, at least five of whom at any one time can be counted on to vote with the Democrats.

Let me name them: Lincoln Chaffee, R.I.; Susan Collins and Olympia Snow, Maine; Arlen Specter, Pa.; John Warner, Va.; John McCain, Ariz.; Chuck Hagle, Neb., George Voinovich and Mike deWine, Ohio; Lindsey Graham, S.C.

These ten and perhaps one or two others time after time leave the Republican leadership scrambling for votes and just as often assure the Democrats the votes they need to block administration proposals, appointees and policies.

Such is life under the capitol dome. And such will it ever be until Republican leadership finally figure out that they are going to have to beat some of these people in primaries and quit supporting them for re-election just because they have an R after their names.

— by Lyn Nofziger*

** This spot , usually reserved for the political verse of Joy Skilmer, né Lyn Nofziger, this issue is devoted to a particularly informative, though brief, offering directly from Lyn's "musings," which can be read regularly at: www.lynnofziger.com — editor*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tion it. Perhaps I should have said wait for the post-broadcast mail for evidence making my case.

As the vitriolic letters poured in, I thought about the advertisement Bill Moyers had bought and published the same week in the *Washington Post* arguing that PBS is the "core curriculum" of America: the shaper of gentle, refined souls attuned to "beauty" and wisdom. Have you met my letter writers, Mr. Moyers? Their aristocratic PBS education in the higher things has so refined their souls their tolerance now rivals that of French Revolutionaries.

My mere presence on its home turf moved the PBS mob watching to outrage over "NewsHour" correspondent Jeffrey Brown's failure to rig the game better against me. "The demonization of Bill Moyers is not limited to conservative venues," complained Jan Herman in a column titled "Kill Bill, The Latest Version" at blogcritics.org. "George Neumayr, executive editor of the hardline right-wing *American Spectator* magazine, was given ample time last night to spew his venom on PBS's 'NewsHour' in a softball interview with Jeffrey Brown."

PRI
PACIFIC RESEARCH INSTITUTE

California's "go-to" think tank for policy solutions

The Pacific Research Institute is California's top resource for practical, non-partisan solutions for workers' compensation, tax policy, health care, education, and telecommunications policy.

Recent publications include:

★ ***No Place to Learn: California's School Facilities Crisis***

★ ***How to Fix California's Broken Workers' Compensation System***

★ ***Telescam: How Telecom Regulations Harm California Consumers***

To learn more call **415.955.6120** or visit PRI's website **www.pacificresearch.org** to download a complimentary copy of PRI publications.

Dailykos.com posted a letter written to Jeffrey Brown from a PBS diehard that began: "I love the 'NewsHour' and think you normally do a great job as you let people have their say and walk the fine line of balance. Tonight, however, I was appalled. You gave George Neumayr a complete pass. He was claiming that PBS has a 'pervasive' liberal [bias] – that means he was saying it about you too – I expect Public Broadcasting to defend itself against such manifest hogwash as part of the price of getting my twice yearly pledges."

After patronizingly sketching out for Brown a set of questions he should have asked me, the writer admonished him: "I wish you guys would dig your heels in and get your dukes up – it's time to reclaim public broadcasting for the public and it's your job to ask those questions. That would help people who like to see both sides of an issue know where the wrong wingers are coming from." This "gentle soul" wants "to see both sides of an issue" — but also wants tax-funded instruction, coming from state TV, that tells viewers who "the wrong wingers" are. Is this America's "core curriculum"? or the curriculum of liberal fascism? Notwithstanding Mr. Moyers' characterization to the contrary, it is no thing of "beauty."

The ferocious letters to me conveyed PBS partisans' panic that their liberal monolith might be cracking up, although many assured me that criticism like mine could have no effect on their cherished outpost. Their defensive hysteria belied the claim. Some of the phone calls I received began in a smarmy, I-need-to-re-educate-you tone, only to descend quickly into frightened barking attempting to silence me from further criticism of PBS. People don't hit back that hard and with such demented invective unless you lay a glove on their favorite positions and get them disoriented and reeling.

The pretensions of PBS' partisans are beyond parody. To puncture their we-possess-the-serene-maturity-to-save-the-Republic conceit, all you have to say is (a) obvious liberal bias exists on PBS and (b) taxpayers shouldn't have to finance it. Then watch them come unglued. Their posture of maturity and rationality immediately gives way to primitive 1960s radicalism – a wild, essentially speechless form of protest enlightening mainly about liberalism's core hostility to reason and morality.

PBS, a decaying monument to LBJ's Great Society from which it came, is one of the left's last redoubts. Its partisans will not surrender taxpayer money without a savage fight. So they bully and try to intimidate critics like Tomlinson, and me, into silence. The an-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

swer to the paradox – how can PBS partisans who regard themselves as apostles of tolerance and enlightenment resort so easily to intimidation and infantile exertion of will? — is clear: their claims are based not on reason but on force. Their ideology is a willfulness writ large that becomes more vivid as their long-standing privileges are scrutinized and, let us hope, increasingly withdrawn. CPR

The Law

The *Kelo* assault on property

'Progressive' high court turns back the clock to the time localities could ignore the Bill of Rights.

HAROLD JOHNSON

Gonna Party like it's 1889. Land-use regulators are whistling that tune and breakdancing in jubilation after the U.S. Supreme Court, in its recent *Kelo v. New London* eminent domain decision, gave them vast arbitrary power over private property — by turning back the clock to a time when cities and counties didn't have to worry about obeying the federal constitution.

It wasn't until the end of the 19th century that the Supreme Court applied federal protections for private property against localities. The 1897 case of *Chicago, Burlington & Quincy Railroad Company v. Chicago* held that the Fifth Amendment's ban on unreimbursed seizure of property binds not just on the federal government but also states and their subdivisions (by virtue of the Fourteenth Amendment, enacted after the Civil War, which forbids states from taking "life, liberty or property, without due process of law").

One way of reading *Kelo* is as a partial repeal of *Chicago B & Q.* At least that's the practical effect, because *Kelo* effectively erases three key words from the Bill of Rights. The Fifth Amendment says, "Nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation." *Kelo* leaves it to local officials to define "public use" with no "second guessing" by judges. Specifically, it allows New London, Connecticut, to confiscate people's homes so developers can exploit the land for private gain. Bureaucrats can spin "public use" into meaninglessness.

So *Kelo's* warped reading of the United States Constitution leaves it to conscientious state and local officials to protect private property. A handful of state constitutions, including those of Arizona and Washington in the west, already ensure that private property may not be seized by government for private use. State Senator Tom McClintock, who wants the California constitution to protect homeowners, has announced plans to introduce a state constitutional amendment. His proposed wording — stronger and more explicit than property protections in other state constitutions — "will require that the government must either own the property it seizes through eminent domain or guarantee the public the legal right to use the property."

In addition, it will require that such property "must be restored to the original owner or his rightful successor, if the government ceases to use it for the purpose of the eminent domain action." He hopes to be joined by Democrat legislators from low-income areas whose constituents are most at risk from aggressive use of eminent domain.

A few local officials stepped forward on behalf of

Harold Johnson is a CPR *contributing editor and an attorney with the Sacramento-based Pacific Legal Foundation.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

property rights. "Not all cities applaud the *Kelo* decision," said Anaheim's Curt Pringle, "and in fact, I, as mayor, and a majority of my city council colleagues believe it is wrong. The courts may have granted cities the right to seize property for economic development purposes, but that does not mean we should do so, and in Anaheim, we will not." Orange County Supervisor Chris Norby — who leads a statewide coalition opposed to abuse of eminent domain in the "redevelopment" process — reiterated that government should seize private property through eminent domain only for clearly governmental purposes such as roads and post offices, "not for a Costco or Wal-Mart."

Arguing that Congress can't tinker with Supreme Court rulings short of amending the Constitution, Pelosi said: 'This is almost as if God has spoken.' But wasn't it God who said, 'Thou shalt not steal'?

BUT THE more predictable public-sector response came from La Mirada City Manager Andrea Travis: "I'm pleased that the court recognized that local agencies are in the position to determine what's in the best interest of the community after receiving input from residents and businesses," she said. Whittier Mayor Greg Nordbak seconded her enthusiasm, calling *Kelo* a fair decision: "As long as a city put a lot of thought into (eminent domain), looking at options and into the process, it should be fine." Spoken like a man confident his own home would never be on the city's target list.

Bureaucrats won't find U.S. House Minority Leader Nancy Pelosi raining on their party. Commenting on a GOP proposal to try to curb *Kelo* through federal legislation, the San Francisco Democrat said she "would oppose any legislation that says that we would withhold funds for the enforcement of any decision of the Supreme Court, no matter how opposed I am to that decision," then quickly adding: "And I'm not saying that I'm opposed to this decision." Arguing that Congress can't tinker with Supreme Court rulings short of amending the Constitution, Mrs. Pelosi said: "This is almost as if God has spoken." But wasn't it God who said, "Thou shalt not steal?"

McClintock wants lawmakers to put his state constitutional amendment on the November ballot, alongside Governor Arnold Schwarzenegger's reform initiatives. It won't be an easy sell to a Legislature dominated by big-government liberals, but *Kelo* has proven so incendiary — so broadly unpopular — that pressure on lawmakers could be intense. In fact, the governor might want to consider a high-profile embrace of McClintock's effort, which could pack the same kind of punch as Prop. 13, another populist homeowners' protection initiative. Not a bad way for a governor with sputtering poll numbers to get his engines revved up again.

With due sympathy for the homeowners who've been abused, it has to be admitted that *Kelo* comes with a large silver lining: It offers an opportunity for educating the public about the importance of property rights and steering popular frustration in beneficial directions. It offers a clarifying teaching moment — and a chance to put liberals on the rhetorical and political defensive. The ideology that sneers at "rights of property" as distinct from, and less worthy than, "rights of people," has been exposed as a sham and, more, a threat to the middle and lower classes, because they are always the first victims of unrestrained government power.

"[T]he dichotomy between personal liberties and property rights is a false one," wrote Justice Potter Stewart in *Lynch v. Household Finance Corp.* (1972). "Property does not have rights. People have rights. The right to enjoy property without unlawful deprivation, no less than the right to speak or the right to travel, is in truth, a 'personal' right, ... In fact, a fundamental interdependence exists between the personal right to liberty and the personal right in property. Neither could have meaning without the other."

Arthur Lee of colonial Virginia put it well: "The right of property is the guardian of every other right, and to deprive a people of this, is in fact to deprive them of their liberty."

Also eloquent is Cal State San Bernardino political scientist Edward Erler: "The right to property serves as the litmus test because it is the right which is deriv-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ative from life and liberty .... In a sense, the right to property serves as a kind of 'early warning system' to invasions of life and liberty."

Hear, also, former California Supreme Court Justice Janice Rogers Brown: "Private property represents zones of individual sovereignty — regions of autonomy within which we make our own choices."

Kelo defaced the Fifth Amendment in the short run, but it may turn out to have been a watershed. We have reason to hope that this Supreme Court outrage will trigger a renewal in America's — and California's — appreciation of the right to own and use property, and to be safeguarded from public as well as private theft: in other words, a renewed appreciation of the freedom without which all other freedoms are at risk. CPR

On campus

A cold war heats up

At a California JC, academic freedom is a sacred imperative — for leftists, not for you.

MICHAEL P. DAVIDSON

"SRJC UPROAR OVER REPUBLICAN PROTEST" read a headline in the *Santa Rosa Press Democrat* shortly before the end of the 2004-05 academic year. A firestorm of controversy hit Santa Rosa Junior College in California's left-wing Bay Area as College Republicans (CRs) took on the school's politicized faculty in a fight for academic freedom.

Intellectual bullying and forced indoctrination of students by leftist professors and administrators at SRJC, as on too many American campuses, has become accepted, even expected — and not surprisingly. How else could so-called teachers teach who say they believe in no god but power? who preach that our one hope is to achieve a totalitarian governing monopoly responsible for making every decision? In short, what have communists ever either advocated or done but bully and indoctrinate?

To shake up the intellectual desperation prevailing at Santa Rosa Junior College, and to try to admit into it a bit of light and genuine hope, the campus's SRJCRs came up with a clever gambit. In this oppressive context, it also amounted to a bold stroke.

UC Berkeley graduate Michael P. Davidson is California Political Review's *campus correspondent.*

Last February 25, SRJCRs posted fliers shaped and colored as red stars on 10 faculty office doors — those of professors known for harrying students in the classroom and complementing their elucidation of communism with presumably well-intended efforts to impose it. The fliers prominently displayed California Education Code 51530, a section left over from the McCarthy era, that forbids instructors from "advocacy or inculcation or indoctrination into ... a political theory that the presently existing form of the United States ... should be changed ... to a totalitarian dictatorship which is based on the principles of communism as expounded by Marx, Lenin, and Stalin."

Performing on cue, the faculty flipped out. First they accused the CR club of being "sensationalist" — just trying to get media attention. Not to be outdone, the faculty called a press conference to complain about the students' "sensationalist tactics."

Philosophy Professor Michael Aparicio said the student protest "makes me a little anxious." Apparently the professor never realized that it makes students a little anxious to have to sit through one-sided lectures. Perhaps he now begins to know how they feel.

A nervous Vice President of Academic Affairs Ed

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The lefty professors have a tangled problem trying to function as communist teachers in a free society. Their solution is calmly to proclaim freedom for themselves ... and no one else.

Buckley e-mailed SRJC faculty reassuring them that he understood that "academic freedom" included consideration of "difficult and controversial material." Indeed it does, but it certainly does *not* include making students feel intimidated if they don't buy into the difficult, controversial material, or that their grade hinges on how much of it they swallow.

The faculty members adamantly demand their "right" to teach communism in the context of "teaching" social theory. Again, real academic freedom has no problem with examining communism's claims honestly, but communism does. Teaching communism as something that may be rejected inherently rejects its first principle: do as you're told. So these lefty professors have a tangled problem trying to function as communist teachers in a free society. Their solution is calmly to proclaim freedom for themselves and no one else. All the students are saying is: we deserve balance. Let us learn about communism, but also about those "difficult and controversial materials" contained in the ideas of Adam Smith, Friedrich Hayek, Ludwig von Mises, Milton Friedman.

"One-sided education is indoctrination," said SRJCR President Molly McPherson, for which she became known as "Molly McCarthy" to some on campus. "It's a big issue," she said. "The opinion of the far left is presented as fact, with no alternative." She affirms that many students fear their grades will suffer if they express a contrary view.

English Instructor Marco Giordano called the code section "antithetical to academic freedom," going on to say that "the accusation of teaching communism in the classroom is laughable" — although not, according to his defense of the faculty, because communism is not being taught or even forcibly hammered into students' heads, but because communism is not illegal and because, he added, the U.S. Constitution is "indifferent" both to communism and capitalism.

His statement speaks volumes, exposing at least a strange ignorance, if not bias, in a supposedly learned college instructor. Can he really believe that the United States Constitution, built on individual rights and liberty, is by any stretch of the imagination "indifferent" to communism?

At any rate, the left-wing professors know it is not. That is why, when they espouse the virtues of communism, they also acerbically criticize our system of government and assign communist propaganda to students with no deference paid to alternative view points. To grant the principle of balance is, for them, to forfeit the game.

Now the battle on the SRJC campus seems to have settled into a struggle to control its semantics, which is where the professors seem to like it: each side fighting to control the spin. Borrowing words Samuel Adams spoke in March of 1775, "that" the CRs should "put (the) enemy in the wrong, and keep him so, is a wise maxim in politics, as well as in war." We can't let the professors spin their way out of this one. Buckley called the CR protest "an unhelpful way to express their dissatisfaction" with instructors. But it raised the topic of academic balance to one of debate on campus, and that seems quite helpful.

The CRs organized a student-led forum to discuss the issues surrounding bias in the classroom. Unfortunately, the faculty never showed up. But students — of all political persuasions from progressive to conservative — attended and explored the issue in front of a large crowd. The professors' conspicuous absence served to reinforce the point that they are satisfied only when their viewpoints are the only ones entertained.

These CRs are receiving an education on campus — in dealing with intimidating, thuggish ideologues. At first, faced with the left's brazen assault on academic freedom, defended even more brazenly as the very thing under attack, understandably they did not know whether to concede, back down, or fight. Then they made the hard choice to fight for American principles. This took courage, and has not been met with immediate success, at least not in the sense of overthrowing the tyrannical spirit still far too dominant on the campus.

But these students met with another, arguably more important, form of success: simply by refusing to buckle under, they declared their freedom. All they have to do is sustain that, and they have won. And no matter what they say, the small-minded tyrants of SRJC know it. CPR

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Farewell to the Woman Question

Midge Decter

Articles by Kathleen O'Connell-Sundaram and G. B. Tennyson in May/June's CPR, *considering men and women and relations between the sexes, generated higher than usual reader interest. Mr. W. Edward Chynoweth, whose letter to the editor appears on this issue's "Correspondence" page, forwarded Midge Decter's masterful article on the subject reprinted here. Having originally appeared in 1991, the article's points remain, alas, quite timely, although, as the O'Connell-Sundaram report indicated, thinking people grow increasingly restive about left-feminism's moribund delusions.*

— editor

For many years, I was interested — in both senses of the term — in women's problems. It seemed to me that somewhere in the course of the twentieth century the lives of middle-class American women had been radically altered and we understood neither what had happened nor how to respond properly to it.

The serious Freudians, with their talk of penis envy and father-fixation, certainly seemed far off the point; in any case, the women of my own acquaintance who had undergone classical psychoanalysis were more obtuse about the sources of their own conduct and feelings than any other women I knew. The "parlor" Freudians, those who chalked up every aspect of the human condition to the fulfillment, or lack of same, of all sexual encounters, were merely silly — although to be sure in some cases consequentially so.

Then came the feminists — more properly designated by their original name, the libbers — who were militant, angry, and in the grip of a curious but lethal combination of galloping self-pity and driving ambition. Almost overnight they succeeded in persuading an army of already fretful constituents that everything that troubled their lives was in essence political. Women, said the movement, were an oppressed class, oppressed (in a range of formulations from the so-called "moderate" to the honestly radical) by men, by society, or by the species itself. "The personal is political" was the movement's most formative declaration, to which each of its analyses, demands, and postures, with regard to issues from childbirth to literary scholarship, could by implication be traced.

This was, if anything, even farther from the truth about the special problem of the modern middle-class American woman than the Freudian-type psychologizing, and even less helpful in offering her an understanding of it. A quiet look around would have told her and anybody else who actually cared about her that her life had undergone a revolutionary change. For one thing, she was being positively beset by new freedoms. Before marriage, she was now free to pursue an education of her choosing or not, to take a job or pursue a career, to engage in a kind of sample mating, and to marry or not when and as she saw fit. And though there of course remained social pressure on her to marry, if she did not, she was no longer consigned to playing the maiden aunt.

Once married, she was now free to continue her career or give it up, remain married or change her mind about her choice of husband, have a child or not, and at a time and place of her choosing. She could also now look forward to being vigorous and attractive well past what was once middle age, thanks to both birth control and the mechanization of housework — indeed, there was by

This article is reprinted by permission from the June/July 1991 issue of First Things *(www.firstthings.com), published by The Institute on Religion and Public Life.* *Midge Decter, a member of* First Things' *Editorial Board, is a member of the Heritage Foundation Board of Trustees and a member of the Hoover Institution Board of Overseers.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Then came the feminists, militant, angry, and in the grip of a curious but lethal combination of galloping self-pity and driving ambition.

now an ever higher statistical probability that she would end up a still-healthy widow. She had, in short, become the most transformingly advantaged beneficiary of modern technology, above all, modern medical technology.

That was the good news. The bad news was that no one had ever lived with so many choices before — choices, after all, mean alternatives, and alternatives mean responsibility for outcomes — and there was neither benefit from the experience of the past nor any adequate current thinking to assist in making them. The primary appeal of the women's movement, then, lay in the message that everything that troubled her was somebody else's fault. How could any thinking or spiritual discipline designed to help her carry the burden of freedom stand against the siren song of her victimization?

The result of that question is history. There is no need to expand upon what everybody, most of all she herself, knows: a quarter of a century of agitation on her behalf has left her emotionally and intellectually worse off. Especially intellectually. All the demands for unneeded preference in admissions and hiring, all the absurd litigation, all the efforts at speech control and thought control, and most important, all the programs to manage and "improve" the behavior of the men in her life, whether husband, boss, roommate, or date, have left her more disaffected and more mentally self-indulgent than before.

Moreover, just as feminists gained a following by promising that women were non-responsible for their lives and everything in them, so movement spokesmen have extended the principle to cover the content of their own ideological development. Angry with men? say the feminists when it is pointed out to them that relations between the sexes, always delicate, are now almost paralyzed with mutual distrust, we were never angry with men. Hostile to motherhood? Never. Denigrate homemaking? We have only been saying, give women the option. And so on. It is as if the Marxists, faced with the grinding poverty of Cuba and Nicaragua, were to say, Capitalism? We've never been opposed to capitalism.

The other day I had — or let's say was caught in — a conversation on the subject of career and motherhood. It may have been the thousandth on this particular topic. My interlocutor was a highly regarded and successful intellectual journalist, regular contributor to a most important magazine devoted to refining the minds and tastes of the suburban middle class. She is not in any sense a feminist activist, this woman, only a "right-thinking person." She was suggesting that a working mother with a part-time job should actually be making more money than a full-time worker because her need was the greater.

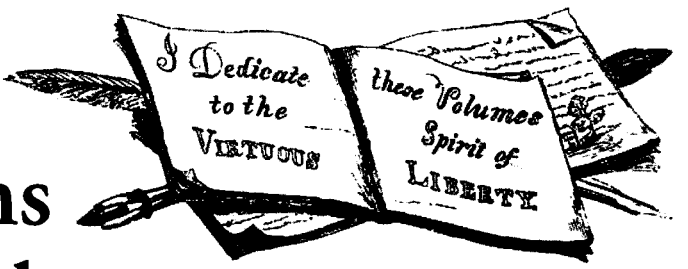
I suddenly caught a glimpse of myself about to be engaged in this argument, and said to myself: After 20 years of joining arguments on this level, it is simply too demeaning to go on with. This woman demands that the world respect her and yet refuses to be either serious or honest, and has clearly grown accustomed to going extremely easy on herself. Why not? The world has gone easy on her — her editors, her publishers, the courts, the press, and her husband, if she has one. Why should I spend my life being more concerned about what is truly bothering her than she is? True, she and the sisterhood for whom she stands in have had much power to damage the social ethos — and have used it to the hilt. But perhaps any social ethos that rewards perfectly intelligent, well-off, healthy, educated people for being what under normal circumstances would be considered downright stupid, deserves to be damaged.

I will gladly admit that dealing with the kind of freedom now enjoyed by these women can be very frightening. This is an old idea, and a true one. But for how long can one sustain one's sympathy for such a difficulty — in a world where people are required to be unbelievably brave just to have maybe only one choice, where figures like Vladimir Bukovsky and Natan Sharansky [who had been imprisoned by the Soviet Union's communist government for supporting freedom] escape oppression in solitary confinement by keeping their minds and spirits free? In such a world no serious person ought to be asked to consider such issues as whether using the masculine pronoun for the general case might not be psychically injurious to females — or be induced, indeed, to stoop to arguing the opposite.

This brief article will be my last on the subject — at least unless or until one word of gratitude for an unprecedented share of life's blessings, along with a promise to hold themselves to a standard worthy of respect, issues from the community of America's middle-class women. CPR

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Two Declarations of Independence



William R. Allen

By a striking (and not entirely fortuitous) coincidence, the year 1776 saw the appearance of two momentous statements of liberty, its prerequisites, its consequences, its vulnerability. The statements were the political Declaration of Independence by the American statesman Thomas Jefferson and the economic *Wealth of Nations* by the Scottish scholar Adam Smith. Their virtually simultaneous appearance underscores the vital, but commonly underappreciated, fact that "societal order" subsumes intertwined political and economic aspects. Political liberty and economic freedom supplement and sustain each other.

This is a world of scarcity. The condition of wanting more than we can have inevitably conduces competition and strife. A viable society must evolve and adopt modes of resolving conflicts. But there are ways and ways of maintaining order. The vision of Smith, highly influential in both Great Britain and the United States, was one of beneficial process and mechanism without tyrannical coercion.

It was a picture of an economy characterized by private rights to use of property and quite minimal, but essential, government; by individuals permitted, with broad but necessary limits, to use their resources as they think best, receiving the benefits and also bearing the costs of their own decisions; by "selfishly" motivated action channeled in a manner conducive to the general wellbeing. It was, in short, a coherent and persuasive picture of efficiency in a setting of freedom.

The *Wealth of Nations* was published during the last decades of the long interventionist age of Mercantilism, and it did not immediately win the field of debate and of policy implementation. Indeed, there are many mercantilists among us even now — some of them in Congress. But the experiment with freedom, both political and economic, for all the many dilutions, distortions, and abuses to which it was subjected, had a fascinating and robust history in nineteenth and twentieth century Britain and America. It was a singular and generally gratifying experience.

But even success does not inevitably succeed forever. The general character of world history over millennia has featured political oppression and economic inefficiency. With the United States now in its third century, it is increasingly apparent that she is the last, best hope of earth. But even this Land of the Free has suffered, at an increasing rate since 1930, growing political concentration and economic waste.

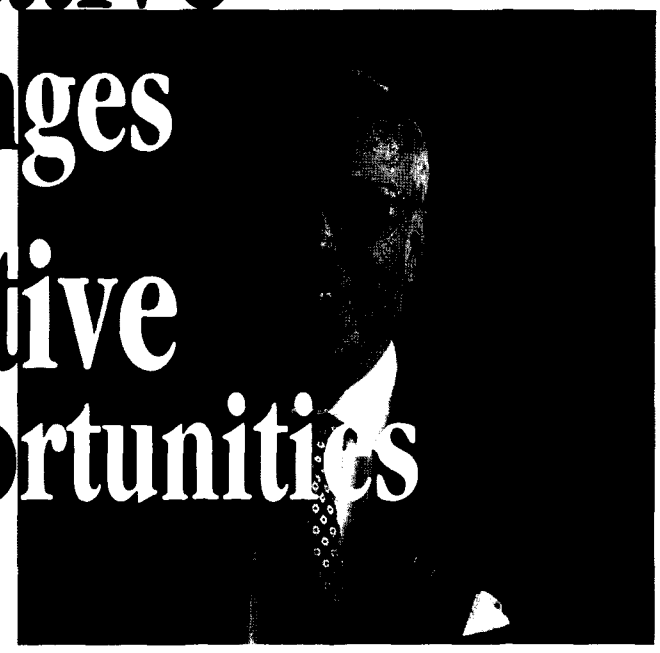
What do today's Americans want, how much do they want it, and do they well enough comprehend the intellectual, institutional, and moral prerequisites of want-fulfillment? Will they meanly acquiesce, through either confusion or a fear of freedom, in stultifying regimentation? Or will they finely strive for the principles of Jefferson and of Smith — liberty with order, efficiency with equity, dynamic growth with social stability?

The fate and welfare of all mankind hangs in the balance. That fate will not be a happy one if the United States adopts, either deliberately or by default, through either subversion or confusion, a static economy and a centrally controlled society. CPR

William R. Allen, from his professorial sanctuary in the UCLA Department of Economics, appreciates our goodly heritage.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Conservative challenges Conservative opportunities



A conversation with Bill Rusher

On a recent trip to San Francisco, California Political Review *visited William A. Rusher, publisher of* National Review *from 1957 until 1989, and now a Distinguished Fellow of the Claremont Institute.*

CALIFORNIA POLITICAL REVIEW: Speaking at Princeton University's Conference on American Conservatism in 1996 you said: "Two of conservatism's central pillars — support for free-market economics and implacable opposition to the spread of Communism — have triumphed spectacularly .... But the third major component of modern American conservatism is still locked in combat with its foes," which you described as "the Enlightenment's disastrous attempt to shape mankind's future by secular reason alone." You said that had failed "spectacularly to substitute anything for the moral teachings of the religious tradition it was so eager to overthrow." Where do we stand, nearly 10 years later, on that third front?

We had one war against communism. We have won the economic war in favor of free enterprise. We are in the midst of the cultural war and we haven't won it yet.

MR. RUSHER: I don't think there has been an awful lot of progress on that third point that I made in my talk. That's a very large subject. We had one war against communism. We have won the economic war in favor of free enterprise. We were in the midst of the cultural war when I gave that address, and we haven't won it yet. I do think that we are likely to in the long run, but I'm talking about the very long run. Science is coming upon problems that they simply aren't going to be able to solve. I don't mean temporarily unable to solve; I mean never will be able to solve. The questions are

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

just sort-of outside the scope and capability of science — the large question of the origins of the cosmos, for instance. They can talk about a big bang but, almost by definition, they can't tell you what was before that.

CPR: Pollsters say the nation is moving, very slowly, but surely, in a prolife direction.
MR. RUSHER: Yes, I think that's so. If you take specific issues, and specifically abortion, the sentiment of the people is moving in that direction. Bush has said that and Reagan said it before him: that you can't deal with an issue like this in an ordinary political way. You just have to let the sentiment of the great majority of the people slowly move in that direction, and it is moving that way.

CPR: Only on abortion, or overall in the culture war?
MR. RUSHER: Abortion, specifically, is where I'm surest of it. I think we're really winning on that front. On the overall culture war, people are talking more frankly now on religion in the public square and about its place in a person's attitude toward politics. And the Democrats are in a bind here. They are in serious danger of becoming the secular party in the United States. If they do, they're going to lose because that's the minority position.

Look at what they did with Kerry. The convention in Boston was very far to the left. The majority of the delegates were in favor of a bug-out in Iraq right then and there, but Kerry couldn't say that. And Kerry had such a militaristic outfit up there on the platform it looked like a meeting of the German General Staff. He just had to make it sound as if he agreed with the great American majority. The Democrats at the convention nominated him and let him get away with it because they knew they had to. But this can't last forever; they can't go on that way. They can't let Hillary run a conservative or centrist race while they themselves are out there on the far left.

CPR: What's to stop her?

Conservatism is dedicated to the advance of principles. The Republican Party is dedicated to victory. We are always going to be disappointed by our politicians. Always.

MR. RUSHER: The question is whether they will go ahead as they did this time for Kerry and let her win just because they know she doesn't mean it. It would force the Democrats to do a tremendous case of the splits. They just do not favor any of this stuff that she's going to have to come out for.

CPR: Might this present another opportunity for the "new media" with its ability to pull the rug from under these great deceptions?
MR. RUSHER: Yes, everything is monitored much more carefully than it used to be. The Democrats just have a terrible gap between what they believe and what they know is necessary for them to win.

CPR: Do you rule out the Democrats making a fundamental change in direction?
MR. RUSHER: My first column after the election recommended they do it, but I swear I don't see how. I suppose if Hillary becomes centrist enough, and then begins winning primaries that way, you might consider the Democratic Party transformed in the process. But it's hard for me to picture a Democrat primary being won with a very explicitly centrist or conservative message.

CPR: Returning to our opening topic, how do you assess the conservative movement's position today?
MR. RUSHER: Well the conservative movement's been a howling success. And we are the victims of our success now. Everything that can be done politically has been done; there are certain victories that can't be achieved politically and they haven't been achieved. But the Republican Party, which is our vehicle, is triumphant everywhere. The Democrats haven't even had the mayoralty of New York City for 13 years for crying out loud.

CPR: Well — to play Devil's advocate — it was reported a while ago that Congressional Republicans have all but given up making the Bush tax cuts permanent. Have Republicans, despite controlling both houses and the presidency, become too timid to vote tax cuts — even ones already in place that need only be extended?
MR. RUSHER: I don't know about that, but bear in mind that conservatism is dedicated to the advance of principles. The Republican Party is dedicated to victory. We are always going to be disappointed by our politicians. Always.

The movement has gotten so big that a certain amount of split-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ting is probably inevitable. I could stand to lose a few of the further out libertarians, on foreign policy issues particularly. The Cato Institute's come out against the Helms-Burton Treaty on Cuba that prevents any American business from doing business with what used to be an American Corporation in Cuba that was confiscated by Castro. What they want is trade with Cuba. They came out for selling out Taiwan because they want trade with China. Well, to Hell with that.

There's a lot of terminological difficulty about the neo-conservatives, but what's really going on is that [*Weekly Standard* Editor] Bill Kristol wants to do for the 21st century what Bill Buckley did for the 20th. To do that he first has to declare that the old conservatism is dead; he did that in an article in the *Washington Post* just after the February New Hampshire Primary of 2000. He then started what he calls national greatness conservatism: throwing your weight around all over the world. That's why they favor Iraq. When a U.S. reconnaissance plane and its crew were forced down by a Chinese fighter on Hainan Island along the coast of China in 2001, and we had to use a lot of diplomacy to get the crew back and, finally, the plane back, everybody thought President Bush and Secretary of State Powell did a good job — except *The Weekly Standard,* which went out of its mind because the negotiator said to the Chinese we were sorry that a Chinese pilot had lost his life or something like that.

Everybody wondered what had gotten into Bill Kristol — what had gotten into Bill Kristol was: this wasn't national greatness conservatism. So keep an eye on him; he's off on that kick, but he hasn't many people with him, including a great many of the neo-conservatives. By that I mean Richard Pearl and people in the second rank of the administration.

And then the religious right is going to be there to have its say — and why not? It has as much right as anybody else to say what it wants out of politics.

CPR: Who do you see as likely Republican contenders in 2008?

MR. RUSHER: My favorite — always has been, even before his brother ran — was Jeb Bush. I think he's very strong and I just wish his name weren't Bush, because I can understand that people ultimately get a little tired of always having a President Bush around.

McCain, in addition to everything else, is going to be older than Reagan was by the time the president elected in 2008 is inaugurated.

Giuliani? — I wrote in my column I thought he was a bit too garlicky for the Republican convention. My editors took it out, but I still think it. I didn't mean anything obnoxious by it. I thought it rather a good way of putting the problem.

There are a lot of governors who aren't particularly noticeable. Constitutional problems aside, Schwarzenegger would be a front runner. To use the tortured word, he has charisma. There is a real person there, a strong personality, and people react to it. He would be a strong candidate, no doubt. But there's no chance the Constitution will be amended for him, so he won't be a candidate. In Congress — Frist might amount to something if he turns out to be tough on the judicial nominations battle.

CPR: What should young conservatives expect from politics?

MR. RUSHER: I think the first thing I'd like to say to all the younger generations, and there are now quite a lot of them, is: they are very hard to please. The tendency is to expect real ultimate success from politics. One of the few things I like that Nixon ever said was "in politics victory is never complete." Or T.S. Elliot's "There are no lost causes because there are no gained causes."

CPR: Yes, but if you say that to a young kid full of fire and ready to go he may throw up his hands and say: what's the point?

MR. RUSHER: *(laughs)* He won't throw up his hands; he'll keep on. I remember a fellow came to my office at *National Review* very early in the 1980s, about '81. He was about to enter the University of Texas Law School and he wanted to found an alternative newspaper. Well just at that time, Irving Kristol was giving $10,000 out of some fund to anybody who would start an alternative newspaper at any college in America. So I steered this fellow to him and he got his ten and went down and started his newspaper. I received volume one, number one, and number two, and so on.

Then came volume two, which came out more or less around the time of the congressional elections of 1982. And the newspaper denounced Ronald Reagan. He had betrayed the conservative movement — one or two things that weren't going to suit this guy. I wrote this young fellow and I said I feel sorry for you. You were born at the wrong time. You were born in the Golden Era and don't even know it; it's all downhill from here. I didn't hear from him but I hope he got over being irritated with Reagan. CPR

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

JULY/AUGUST 2005

SPIRIT OF THE RECALL

CPR's BI-MONTHLY REPORT ON CALIFORNIA'S 'BLOW UP THE BOXES' REVOLUTION

No longer listening

by Christopher Shelton

A week before legislative Democrats dropped their demand that the 2005-06 budget devote its whopping spending increases to ratcheting up long-term "baseline" state spending, labor bigwigs informed them that union coffers could not finance both a prolonged budget fight and a fall campaign to defeat "paycheck protection" — the November Special Election ballot measure ending labor bosses' practice of forcing state employee contributions to union politics.

Union officials rely absolutely on involuntary member dues to finance their left-wing political agenda (once given a choice, rank and file workers show little enthusiasm for funding union political warchests, which have collapsed in other states adopting paycheck protection). And California's legislative Democrats rely absolutely on union political money to remain in power, so the union call was followed quickly by budget peace.

This sequence of events made painfully clear, one, how completely captive state government's Democrats are to big labor money and, two, how desperately the left fears paycheck protection. It was all set in motion by Governor Arnold Schwarzenegger's June 13 proclamation calling the November 8 special. Speaking live to the people of the state from the Capitol's Ronald Reagan Cabinet Room — an unobtrusive insertion of the Gipper's name subtly underlining the issues the special involves — Schwarzenegger reminded voters that "When you elected me governor, I made a promise. I said I would put California's financial house in order and reform a government that no longer listened to the people" — a far *less* subtle underlining of the issues the special involves.

Democrats are in a pickle, finding themselves defending two exceedingly unpopular positions in this election. Gerrymandering — drawing lawmakers' district lines to insure virtually eternal control of individual seats by whichever Party holds them the day the lines are drawn — is so unliked even the liberal bastion *Los Angeles Times* has editorially urged junking it. And paycheck protection not only is favored nearly two-to-one by state voters, but large portions of union members back it as well. *Sacramento Bee* columnist Daniel Weintraub noted that the California Correctional Peace Officers Association vote to levy a member dues "surcharge" to fight the measure was opposed by 43 percent of voting members.

The governor encapsulated the Democrats' problem in his phrase: "a government that no longer listens to the people." Republicans, to be sure, often seem determined to give all possible aid to propping up the Democrats' losing cause, mainly by showing repeatedly their massive unenthusiasm for taking politics seriously. First, one of the governor's key reform measures — allowing state workers to control investment of their individual pension contributions — fell victim to a glaring *political* flaw in the measure's drafting. Later the governor allowed the philosophical divisions he himself has incorporated into his political inner circle to eliminate two more essential parts

Christopher Shelton is a free lance political writer living in Southern California.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of his reform package: a spending cap and merit pay for teachers. Now, a mystifying failure of experienced GOP political operatives to attend to a routine element in circulating the redistricting petitions has permitted highly partisan Democrat Attorney General Bill Lockyer to file suit in an effort that may or may not prove successful in removing that measure from the November ballot. These are Politics 101 screw-ups traceable almost certainly strictly to GOP laziness and, in the governor's case, inexperience. But the Democrats cannot go on forever dodging errantly-fired bullets, surviving on a steady diet of Republican failure to pay attention to details and their own tactical maneuvering, deft as it may be. The central fact remains that the Democrats are on a collision course with the people. They simply *must* have forced collection of political moneys and rigged legislative districts or they lose power, because they have nothing to sell in their politics the people actually want to buy.

And they seem congenitally incapable of course adjustment. For just a few examples, the Sacramento Democrats, seeming not to notice their own abysmally low poll numbers, this term went on record favoring:

- elimination of the high school exit exam, the sole remaining element of the massively popular education reform effort launched in stages during the past 10 years by a succession of governors and steadily undermined by legislative Democrats ever since;

- a new state pension law that, among other things, would permit public safety employees to retire (many at age 50) with a pension equal to 100 percent of their highest salary, and increase from 50 to 85 percent the tax free portion of disability pensions. The *Sacramento Bee* called the bill "a fiscal time bomb" that "fleeces taxpayers, while pushing state and local governments ever closer to insolvency .... Pick your adjective: This measure is irresponsible, unconscionable, shameless, craven";

- a double-digit increase in the state's general fund budget over last year, even while whining that spending was increasing much too slowly — exactly the sort of hare-brained burn-through-every-available-dime approach to fiscal management that triggered — less than two years ago — California's first-ever recall of a sitting governor.

Unlike Republican weaknesses, which tend to be tactical and therefore fixable, Democrat weaknesses are manifestly structural and stem inescapably from the Party's grand strategic goal — that of insuring an unending, ever growing flow of resources to feed narrow, parasitical special interests — that the people will never support.

Governor Schwarzenegger is showing signs of throwing off the months-long lethargy that permitted the Democrats back into the ballgame after they spent 2004 largely on the sidelines. (Last year's budget, believe it or not, increased year-to-year spending a mere $600 million, the smallest spending increase in state history and the most convincing possible evidence the Democrats were effectively out of power.) He refused a recent Democrat "deal" offering to drop opposition to his late-June budget proposal if he would agree to sit out the paycheck protection battle. As we've seen, the Democrats largely quit the budget fight anyway on instructions from their union masters. And Schwarzenegger's special election announcement message showed he still understands the "spirit of the recall" and how to articulate it.

The governor is also receiving, as he has throughout his term in office, decisive backbone-restoring help from conservatives in the legislative GOP caucuses. Their insistence that the budget include no backing away from this November's reforms proved critically important during this year's budget negotiations. Last year, these same conservative office holders supplied the necessary resolve to avoid a collapse on workers' comp reform, bringing about substantial, even if still insufficient, improvements in that dysfunctional system.

Four months before California's watershed special election, Democrats — despite a months-long, multi-million dollar media bashing of the governor — still find them-

(Please turn to page 31)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Big labor's political battering rams

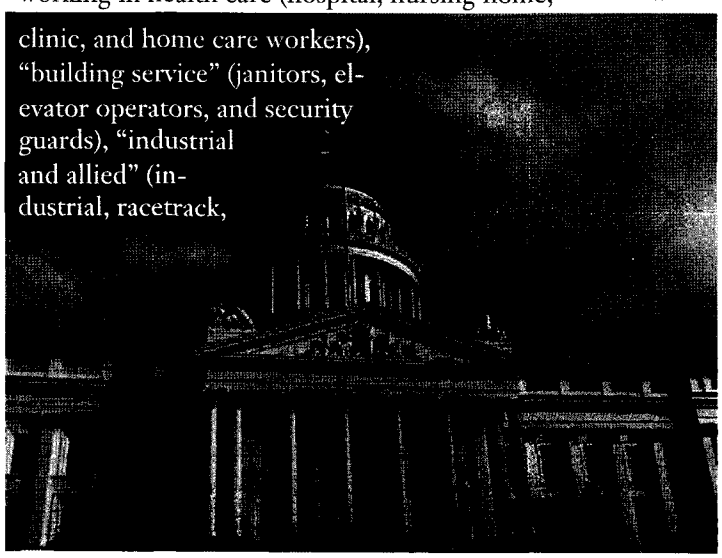
How union bosses spend forced dues to call the shots in Sacramento

by Sam Paredes

One might wonder who is in charge these days in Sacramento. Is it the governor? The Legislature? Or could it be all those people walking around in the purple shirts? .... Who *are* those people, anyway? Where do they come from and what do they want?

It seems they've moved in and established residence, because they are at the Capitol every day without fail. Even when the Legislature goes home, they remain — in session, out of session, on every sidewalk, at every entrance, on every floor, working every Capitol office and legislative staffer they can corner. Capitol insiders call them the "Purple Shirts," but evidently their goal is to be the "Purple Ocean."

Who *they* are is the Service Employees International Union (SEIU — and the union's national website actually says it "is organizing a virtual grassroots union called *PurpleOcean.org*," a venture intended "to challenge global corporations to clean up their act and provide living wages and benefits for all workers.") Nationally, SEIU member rolls boast 1.8 million employees in the United States, Canada, and Puerto Rico working in health care (hospital, nursing home, clinic, and home care workers), "building service" (janitors, elevator operators, and security guards), "industrial and allied" (industrial, racetrack,

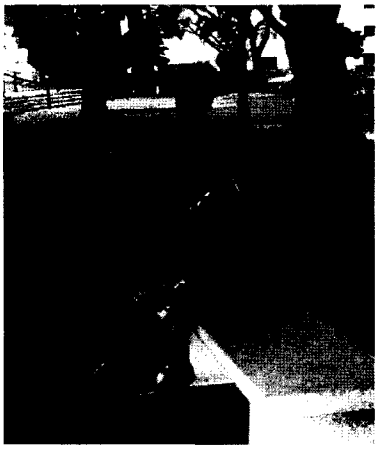


Sam Paredes, a regular CPR *contributor, is executive director of Gun Owners of California.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and ballpark workers), and public employees: federal, state, county, municipal, and school employees. SEIU modestly reports that it is the largest union in the AFL-CIO. Its prevailing political slant may be gleaned from a feature at one of its websites titled: "Involvement in 2004 Progressive Political Organizations" which lists, among other items, a *$26 million* contribution to "America Coming Together (ACT)," described as the "largest voter mobilization effort in history" with a note that SEIU's fat check to ACT even exceeded "individual contributions by George Soros and Peter Lewis." After that, such items as $1 million to the Democratic National Committee, $100,000 to the vehemently anti-Bush MTV operation "Rock the Vote," and $50,000 to the "New Democratic Network" seem small potatoes.

The Sacramento "Purple Shirts" come from virtually every corner of the state and in the past few years have become an especially effective Capitol presence, representing the spending lobby with a simple, straightforward, typically pugnacious, and never-varying message: every government program serves the vital needs of the poor, the children, and the elderly; all spending restraint serves "special interests" and "the wealthy." But despite their vocal and impressive political effectiveness at the Capitol, the colorful purple ocean is more like a purple puddle within the genuine ocean of California's nearly 36 million people. Total union membership — counting both public and private sectors — hovers between 10 and 15 percent of California's total workforce, hardly a ringing endorsement of the standard union claim to represent working California. And as we'll see a little later, even the actual members of the unions are by no means in lockstep agreement with the union bosses' down-the-line support of left-wing politics and politicians. Why, then, do the union bosses wield so much influence?



One reason is that they work very hard to convince people they are fighting for the "little guy" against power. This would constitute a legitimate cause, were it true. A lot of people lobbying state government are there to ask help in trying to protect their rights: crime victims, for instance; or individuals, families, sometimes whole communities or industries that have fallen afoul of a government bureaucracy mindlessly rolling forward like the giant stone ball in an Indiana Jones film, oblivious to the lives it pulverizes of the unfortunate people who get in its way. These are real people, like the farmers in the California-Oregon border area Klamath Basin who a few years ago found themselves and their generations-old way of life suddenly in the cross-hairs of the anti-people Endangered Species Act bureaucracy. Leading mostly self-reliant lives, such people lobby government in hopes it will perform its true function of defending ordinary people against tyrannical oppression.

"Public servants," however, whose personal financial wellbeing is mostly what the "Purple Shirt" brigades "fight" for, don't really fit the mold. And for the most part, in their campaigns, they don't try to. People employed (or whose livelihoods are largely subsdized) by government, after all, are called *public servants* because they are supposed, in a free country at least, to be *dis*interested in more than the minimum necessary recompense to permit them to serve the people. The *private* sector is the traditional arena for those devoted to self-seeking accumulation of wealth and comfort.

But one of big government's many drawbacks is that it unavoidably undermines and often destroys this distinction between public service and personal self-interest as it hires increasingly vast armies of "staff" to carry out its grandiose missions. The state workforce, as it grows by thousands of employees, largely comes to consist of ordinary people with ordinary, long-term interests in a steady job, reasonable opportunity for advancement, and financial security in old age. The problem is that the voters still cling to the illusion that all government employment remains "public service," as opposed to greedy self-interest. Also, as in all government activity, the provision of resources to keep this metastasizing army going is cut off from the normal

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

obligation that it actually produce something that the people who must pay for it consider valuable or go out of business. The first problem leads public employee organizations ever more into the fantasy business: continually creating and maintaining the illusion that everything they are and do reflects nothing but selfless concern for others, when, in fact, exactly the opposite is true — they are a union, after all, and unions exist to serve the material interests of their members, just as corporations exist, finally,

Voters still cling to the illusion that all government employment remains 'public service,' as opposed to greedy self-interest.

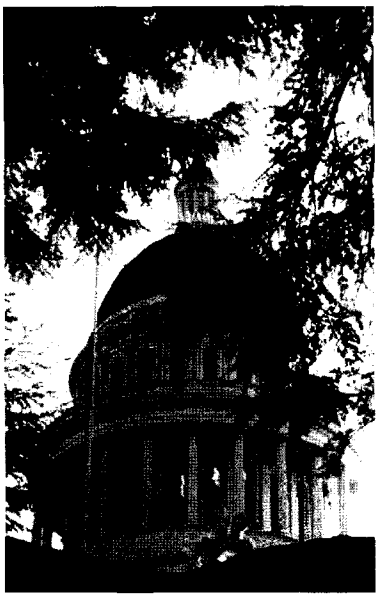
to maximize profits of their shareholders.

And although inducing perpetual delusion, inflicted on oneself as much or even more than on other people, eventually leads to insanity, the second problem brings more immediate trouble. Freedom from having to give anything real in exchange for one's pay inevitably corrupts if allowed to go on long enough. As Ronald Reagan noted in 1973 after California voters defeated Proposition 1, a relatively early attempt to reign in big state government:

> More than a century ago, the French philosopher Frédéric Bastiat wrote: 'The state, too, is subject to the Malthusian Law. It tends to expand in proportion to its means of existence and to live beyond its means, and these are, in the last analysis, nothing but the substance of the people. Woe to the people that cannot limit the sphere of action of the state: Freedom, private enterprise, wealth, happiness, independence, personal dignity, all vanish.' That is what will inevitably happen in America unless we act to curb the excessive spending of government.

And bringing all that about, whether anyone in SEIU knows it or not, has become, essentially, the union's *raison d'être.*

But again, the question is: how have the union bosses — given all the anti-social implications of the mission they have taken on — been able to achieve so much influence in a self-governing democracy, *i.e.:* where the rules are supposedly set by the *people* (who are, as Reagan noted, the union's main targets)?



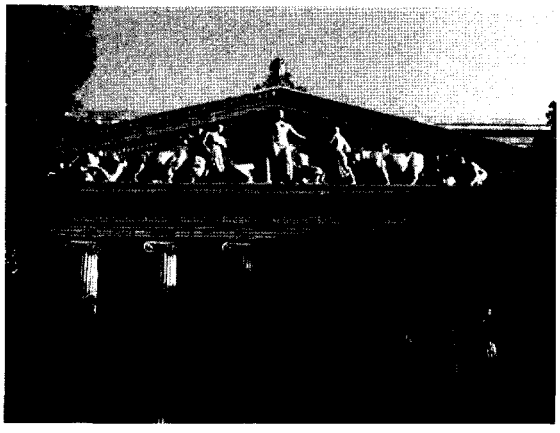
The answer — pure and simple — is money. With the seemingly unlimited resources supplied by compulsory membership dues, SEIU is amply staffed and well-enough organized to have made a small percentage of the population seem like a major block of voters and to portray virtually unlimited greed as selfless concern for the people. Capitol Democrats are positively gleeful given the chance to help create and maintain the illusion, because for the past few years the purple shirts have aimed their arrows at Arnold Schwarzenegger's Republican administration, even though it was the Gray Davis fiscal morass that left the in-home-support service workers feeling the bite of the recalled governor's budget axe.

In politics, it's always a smart idea to follow the money. Although determination and organization gets you into the party, the bucks get you the good table. Without the pot of gold, there simply aren't a lot of menu options. For example: the purple shirts. Of those who descend on Sacramento, the vast majority are low income earners, so how are they able to finance trips to the state Capitol? How do they pay for travel expenses and days off work? Who fills in for them on their jobs while they are away?

The answer is: these are no ordinary citizens seeking redress before government. They get to Sacramento on large purple busses. Their meals

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

are paid for, as are their hotels. Tents and water are provided to them on the Capitol grounds on the more publicized "lobby days." Should they be unable to speak English, translators accompany them to each office. In blunt terms, SEIU has been pounding the pavement more aggressively than any other special interest during the past several budget cycles and have largely succeeded in catching legislators' attention.



This year is a whole new ballgame. Because the public employee unions are so rattled about the upcoming November special election with its several reform initiatives including paycheck protection, limits on state spending, restrictions on teacher tenure, and redistricting, these regimented public servants decided to combine their resources against the common "evils." It's smart tactics, and the unions' political funding structure allows its virtually effortless implementation.

Wouldn't it be great just to flip a switch and have a bank account flooded with millions of dollars? That's pretty much how the public employee unions do it through compulsory dues charged to their members. (Although individuals can technically "opt out," the process is complicated, cumbersome, and not without the potential of an "unpleasant backlash.") It was front page news when the California Teachers Association (CTA) voted to increase each individual member's dues by more than $180 over the next three years, raising more than $50 million exclusively to campaign against Governor Arnold Schwarzenegger and the special election initiatives. CTA President Barbara Kerr has indicated the increase will give CTA "leverage" to borrow against the extra revenues and will spend whatever it takes to prevail in November.

The California Correctional Peace Officers Association (CCPOA) also sharply upped their members' automatic contributions to the unions' political treasuries, specifically to oppose the November reforms. The CCPOA dues boost reportedly will bring in more than $18 million this year alone. Do the rank and file support this commandering of their money? *Sacramento Bee* columnist Daniel Weintraub's "Inside California" weblog, commenting on the CCPOA dues surcharge, wrote: "the most interesting fact in the story is that 43 percent of those voting in the election opposed the fee." Of course, if rank and file union members *wanted* to support CCPOA politics financially, paycheck protection would not threaten union bosses' clout anyway. It's interesting to note that on the national level, 38 percent of union members voted for President Bush. According to the Center for Responsive Politics, however, 87 percent of all labor donations went to John Kerry or other Democrat candidates. The same statistics bear out in California's most recent statewide election, where Lt. Governor Cruz Bustamante received vast support from public employee unions, yet 37 percent of union members voted for Arnold Schwarzenegger.

Wouldn't it be great just to flip a switch and have a bank account flooded with millions of dollars? That's pretty much how the public employee unions do it through compulsory dues charged to their members.

The unions' involuntarily-donated money is an enormous political boon. It serves to elect such notable former labor activists as state Assembly Speaker Fabian Nuñez and Los Angeles Mayor (and former Speaker) Antonio Vil-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

laraigosa. Have you ever wondered how the Democrats seem able to maintain near-perfect party discipline with all their members blending almost facelessly into a lock-stepping column while Republicans, such as those now in the U.S. senate, appear always to be wondering off in all directions, rarely able to forge a unified political fighting force? It's simply a matter of dancing with the one who brung ya'.

Republican political funding comes from more varied sources that must be persuaded to give voluntarily, permitting GOP office holders a degree of freedom their Democrat colleagues often lack. Once elected, Democrats usually carry union water without question and ultimately deliver Democrat votes on labor legislation. These friends in legislative high places give public employee unions vastly increased leverage in Sacramento.

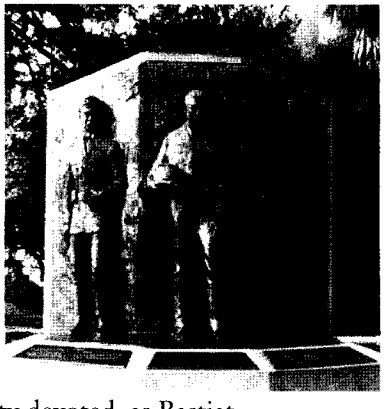
Their vested interest in protecting this process — *i.e.*, in defeating the fall initiatives — is huge. They know, for example, that after a similar paycheck protection measure passed in Utah, the percentage of teachers contributing to the union's political fund dropped from 68 percent to an abysmal 6.8 percent. In Utah, union "leaders" actually have to ask their members' permission to use their dues money for politics. They no longer enjoy a blind, captive source of revenue. The playing field is leveling out.

And recent surveys show that 45 percent of union households support California's paycheck protection initiative. Is that so astonishing? Who has better reason to want union members to decide for themselves how and when their political dollars are allocated than union members themselves? But would paycheck protection suddenly sweep Republicans into a majority? It is far more likely simply to free Democrat legislators to vote for their districts' real needs.

It becomes increasingly clear the only people who stand to lose if reform wins in November are those at the top of the union power structure whose livlihoods depend upon it remaining unchanged. The initiatives will require public employee unions to work as hard as the rest of us to raise money for politics. They will reform a system that now permits poor teachers with multiple unsatisfactory evaluations iron-clad protection against being dismissed. The initiatives will allow the state's citizens to vote in districts that honestly represent their communities and their ideas instead of being carved up into partisan-predisposed political voting cells.

Since union bosses believe the stakes are even higher than normal, the "purple shirt" demonstrations and protests have been ratcheted up, becoming even more unpleasant. Heeding the old adage "out of sight, out of mind," they repeatedly, and more raucously than ever, let elected officials know they are there, are organized, and will not go away. Although the governor is their chief target, the message is plain for anyone who casts a vote: "pay us now or we'll pay you back later ...." The voice of the protests is narrowly ideological, repeating over-used lingo from ages-old, tired-out, left-wing propaganda wars. Interestingly enough, many of the people sent to lobby show a measure of common sense when asked individually about budgeting. Most agree the state is a lousy steward of our tax dollars. But the logical connection escapes them that *their* agenda is the main source of food feeding the bloated beast.

But it is. The ultimate source of this endless union pot of gold is your pocketbook and mine. Tax dollars, after all, pay their salaries. First, the Legislature passes the budget — the funding stream to pay the teachers, prison guards, and home care workers. Their paychecks — some of which barely hit the "meager" mark on the pay scale — are squeezed to pay the union dues that sustain the political activity — activity devoted, as Bastiat predicted it would be, to the proposition that government spending trumps everything: the family, the economy, the Constitution. And it's all paid for with our tax dollars. Like the union members themselves, we haven't the luxury of choosing how our money is spent, except at the ballot box.



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The moral case for reform

by John Kurzweil

PETER SCHWEIZER, in his book *Reagan's War*, says Ronald Reagan's guiding insight was that for all its bluster and destructiveness, communism was not a tower of strength to be feared, but a quivering mass of weakness ripe for defeat. Reagan knew its very reliance on lies and violence betrayed its weakness, and so was able to proceed against it with a confidence in final victory shared by few other men.

Visits to websites run by a major opponent of the state's November reform initiatives — the Service Employees International Union (SEIU) — conveyed a similar impression of weakness, and reminded me of a comment from Albert Speer's *Inside the Third Reich:*

> It remains one of the oddities of this war that Hitler demanded far less from his people than Churchill and Roosevelt did from their respective nations. The discrepancy between the total mobilization of labor forces in democratic England and the casual treatment of this question in authoritarian Germany is proof of the regime's anxiety not to risk any shift in the popular mood .... Whereas Churchill promised his people only blood, sweat, and tears, all we heard during the various phases and various crises of the war was Hitler's slogan: "The final victory is certain." This was a confession of political weakness. It betrayed great concern over a loss of popularity that might develop into an insurrectionary mood.

This, of course, is the weakness of materialism: by definition unable to draw upon the virtually limitless reservoirs of strength in the human spirit, it must make do with the shallowest of appeals, those of worldly self-interest and the tawdry emotions that accompany it — anger at one's enemies, real or perceived; festering resentment over life's difficulties and disappointments; continuous fear of "running out" of life's necessities; shallow lust after the appearances of personal success — and envy for anyone who seems to have found it — but without the seriousness of purpose that motivates genuine striving for greatness. As Midge Decter says of left-wing feminists in another part of this issue, they appeared on the scene "militant, angry, and in the grip of a curious but lethal combination of galloping self-pity and driving ambition."

No doubt I will be accused of saying California's labor unions are run by Nazis and communists. No, I am not saying that. I do say the role those controlling California's public employee unions have chosen to play in this election betrays weakness, showing the same *signs* of weakness — reliance on empty slogans and stimulation of low emotions — that tyrannies do.

In "Winning Big, Going Global," for instance, a short pep talk signed by SEIU President Andrew L. Stern at *http://www.seiu.org/who/2003_annual_report/stern_letter.cfm*, Stern asks: "Who could have imagined that this union of working people *who often feel individually powerless* could become recognized by public officials and corporate executives as one of the most powerful organizations in the country?" *(emphasis added)*

I know this is standard liberal rhetoric, but why should that excuse it? Where, after all, is this load of stuffing coming from? Stern makes 21st century America sound like feudal England, with peasants and serfs and lords of the manor. In worldly terms — the terms Mr. Stern is concerned with here — the American middle class workers that make up his union are among the most "powerful" people ever to walk the earth. They dispose of income qualifying them as rich in almost any society in other parts of the world today and anywhere at all throughout history up to the most recent past. They have fewer worries about disease, accidental injury, war, famine, crime, poverty, ignorance, repression, racism — you name it — even boredom, than at least nine-tenths of all the men who ever lived. They enjoy technological advancements and the freedom of choice they bring that make the greatest holders of wealth and

John Kurzweil is editor of California Political Review.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

power of past ages (and still much of the world today) paupers by comparison. And as for California government employees specifically, almost no one can match, much less beat, the pay/benefit/retirement packages they enjoy, thanks to SEIU's and other unions' lavish political donations to grateful Democrats who return the favor by agreeing to every demand for *more* that state government receives from the very same unions.

But still they feel "powerless"? Perhaps it is merely convenient for Mr. Stern to encourage them to feel that way, or else they might begin to doubt the necessity of supporting his bureaucratic union structure and vast left-wing political operations with their involuntarily paid dues.

HERE'S A standard articulation of the political issues California faces, presented by SEIU's Sacramento-based Local 1000 on its website: "Public workers, teachers, firefighters, nurses, police, and the people from our communities who desperately need our services stood up May 25 to protest Gov. Arnold Schwarzenegger's $70 million special election and his cruel budget cuts." And here are some lines from a new TV spot union bosses are airing: "Off camera announcer: 'Papers report the governor has a secret plan to create a "phenomenon of anger" against teachers and other public workers, blaming them for what's wrong with California.'" This slam reportedly comes from an *LA Times* article that quoted Schwarzenegger media adviser Don Sipple in a conference call with supporters in which, presumably, Mr. Sipple made the major gaffe of suggesting voters be invited to consider the motivations and tactics of the state spending lobby. He should have remembered that no one supports budget-busting state spending except "people who desperately need our [union] services" and that only Republicans may be called "cruel."

The key issues on this ballot are, one, ending the self-interested drawing of legislative and congressional district lines to insure the Parties that hold a district never need worry about losing it and, two, requiring union political machines to receive permission from public employees before taking their money for politics. Where is the left's consideration of the serious issues of democratic government here raised? Where is its honest dealing with the ancillary issues arising from the phenomenon not of anger, but of taxpayers — virtually all the people — sacrificing for the comfort of the pampered few who work in state government?

Where is the honest analysis — in the interests of those "who desperately need our services" — of the actual efficacy of state programs? Accountability is not only unknown in Sacramento, it is considered a vile topic raised only by people of low motives and corrupt nature. We have "entitlements" to social welfare programs and "baseline budgeting" that begins with last year's spending as the absolute floor on which to build this year's increases — but no accountability. A few year's ago, a newspaper reported that legislative hearings uncovered the truth that no one, literally not anyone, knows how the budget for California's vast prison system is spent. The money — billions of dollars — goes, but we can't say where, or couldn't, at least as of the date of those hearings. I would be grateful to any reader who can show me the state has done anything substantial to change things.

In *CPR's* most recent issue, Ray Haynes ("A terrible thing to waste," May/June) cataloged the decade-long crusade propelled mainly by teachers union honchos to head off the setting of academic standards for state public school instruction and of all testing to determine the quality of their teaching along with any talk of merit awards to encourage good teachers. Accountability, in a word, would *not* be established. The people "who desperately need our services," not to mention that they also pay the bills, would not be permitted to learn how well their schools are teaching the kids who actually do desperately need to learn. Listen to the voice of the unions, talking either to their own members or to the people of the state. All you hear are demands for more money, never any calls for accountability.

Finally, when do these people consider the larger, more generous concerns for the overall direction of our state or the long-term fate of its people? What is becoming of our freedom? How will it all be sustained? What will become of our children? — questions asked seriously only by men and women confident of the moral strength of their positions, people willing to pledge blood, tears, and sweat, knowing that the justice of their cause demands and justifies it. But weak people are too busy scrambling for survival, too hag-ridden by their own small dreams, by their "feelings of powerlessness," by envy and anger, to consider these selfless questions.

THE MORAL CAUSE of this election is to break the cycle of despair afflicting California government. We can be free people: self-reliant, prepared to work hard, ready to endure disappointment, to persevere, to live. We need no Nanny State to protect us — it is, indeed, the state bureaucracy that is strangling us, depriving us of our confidence. The end of the gerrymander and of forced political contributions won't leave us orphans; it will liberate us and make us strong, because the cause it serves is just.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CORRESPONDENCE

(Continued from page 2)

certain disorder and confusion." We are even taught to replace the word *sex*, itself, as though it were unclean, by *gender*. Gender is a grammatical term and can be assigned by convention, but sex is a biological term and is assigned by God. The "gender police," at least some of them, think that gender (sex) can be assigned by convention just as it is in language.

While this may seem trivial, it goes to the root of our understanding of men and women. The term "gender" allows feminists to indulge in determinism, or the pretense that male and female roles are not natural or God-made but purely social construction to be altered at will by women seeking a bigger slice of the pie. Mr. T thus gets trapped in a briar patch of sex casuistry.

Contrary to his assumption, men's larger brains are not a function of body size, so his logic about larger vs. smaller men fails. That he prefers language and literature to science is inconsequential to his not thinking more deeply or arguing from knowledge more than chatty discursiveness. Finally, contrary to his claim, "generalizations and theories about gender differences" (of any value at least) do not "come and go" but are indeed crucial to the discussion of the human sexes. Imagine arguing to a jury, "the evidence comes and goes" so you're on your own. The evidence has been thoroughly presented and discussed in the best research — Goldberg, Levin, Davidson, Decter, Oddie, Gilder, Tiger, Wilson, Mitchell, not to overlook its theological aspects covered by the Vatican — and Criticus's views are immaterial until he informs himself.

As a result, Criticus's comment, "the most unremarked issue in all the coverage of (the Lawrence Summers) event is whether there is any substance to Summers' statement about the relative scientific abilities of men and women" remains both unremarked and unanswered by Criticus himself.

There are two human sexes. How this transpired is still open to debate, but we're stuck with it. The big story is that, despite the existence of two such distinct groups and the inevitable, ingenious God-given *complementarity*, modern thinking in the West is that the sexes are fungible, androgynous, interchangeable, equal, subject to the same limitations, capable of the same exertions, indistinguishable, merged in a legal mishmash, with attempts to discriminate forbidden.

Forgotten is the *central, powerful role* of women to rear strong, good sons, and of men to serve the common good and their families; the natural roles for women "more valuable than rubies" and men doing their job "in the gates." Forgotten are even the basic potential of each sex, based on propensities, the teleological highest and best use of each, God's plan, right order, and the irony that women aren't built or voiced for public leadership but for attractions and holding families together.

The answer is in Christian (mainly Catholic) teaching, and until we recover the knowledge, Addlepated America will continue its decline.

W. Edward Chynoweth
Sanger

G.B. Tennyson replies:

Having hacked my way through the tangled bank of Mr. Chynoweth's prose, which is even more convoluted than my own, I find that his chief objection to my remarks about the Harvard brouhaha over the relative scientific capabilities of men and women rests primarily on my use of the word "gender," which evidently in his view invalidates anything I had to say on the subject. As it happens I generally avoid the word "gender" for much the same reasons he cites in calling upon Harold O.J. Brown and others, the chief of such reasons being that it is essentially a grammatical term and should stay in the realm of grammar. In the article in question I use it in terms of the Harvard dispute, for that is the way the issue was framed at Harvard and in the press. What is more, I conclude that there are aptitude differences between the sexes, which I gather is his point.

Further on the matter of the words gender and sex, Mr. Chynoweth, and for all I know the authorities he cites, might be surprised to learn that grammatical gender was itself originally based on—sex. Nouns denoting male and female persons or animals were respectively masculine or feminine; others, denoting things without sex were neuter. Over time words of inanimate objects were designated masculine or feminine without any attribution of sex, and in some cases names of objects that possessed sex were grammatically neutral. This is true of modern German which has neuter gender for Miss and maiden. Most other three-gender languages, such as the Romance languages, long ago amalgamated all into only two genders, and English has for all practical purposes dropped gender of nouns entirely. (We must not forget, however, the curious retention of gender in the word blond/blonde and a few others.)

Certainly feminism seized upon the seemingly non-sexist grammatical terminology to stress the sameness of the sexes and also the malleability of the sexes. This has become not only politically correct but has infiltrated everyday usage. And usage, alas, often triumphs over good sense and tradition. Consider the very word Mr. Chynoweth exalts, namely, sex. It is hardly proof against misuse. Popular usage has made this word into an activity, as in expressions such as "They had sex that afternoon." I am in favor of Mr.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CORRESPONDENCE

Chynoweth or anyone else sticking his finger in the dike as these mis-usages trickle in, but the tide of usage is ever pouring over the top. Criticus himself used to downgrade student essays that used the then-new term "lifestyle," but eventually he had to accept it. By that time we had a television show called "Lifestyles of the Rich and Famous," and the dike had certainly broken.

Finally, I confess myself baffled by Chynoweth's argument that my saying that theories come and go is like saying that evidence comes and goes. I certainly do not endorse such a notion. The only place I can think of where such an argument would carry any weight is in the U.S. Supreme Court, and Mr. Chynoweth is welcome to it.

CPR Editor John Kurzweil responds:

Mr. Chynoweth strains to complain about articles that make most of the same points he emphasizes himself. He concludes that Kathleen O'Connell-Sundaram's report on a Catholic Women's Forum helps prove that "Biblical Adam's offspring will never learn their lesson" that "woman needs man to complement her and fully understand her role (and vice versa)." But Ms. O'Connell-Sundaram not only never denied this, she directly implies the point, talking about "equal dignity rooted in complementarity."

Left-wing feminists argue that any comparison or contrast with men in "understanding woman's role" implies a denigration of women. No, says Ms. O'Connell-Sundaram, on the contrary, woman's true dignity is rooted precisely in her and man's complementarity. Not satisfied with this ringing endorsement of his very position, Mr. Chynoweth laments that, ahah!, she implies that woman demeans herself if she "defines herself in comparison with men."

What Ms. O'Connell-Sundaram actually asked was whether a woman "must define herself in comparison or contrast with men," a reference to the left feminist habit of defining both a woman's dignity and freedom as depending on the level of contempt she harbors for the idea that her dignity in any way lies in her complementarity with men. If she says men and women complement one another, she is categorized a "victim"; if she rejects men and any idea that women "need" them, she is "liberated." Ms. O'Connell-Sundaram again says no, a woman is not defined in so superficial — not to mention dishonest and ideologically opportunistic — a way.

Mr. Chynoweth says the central dichotomy of human life — the human sexes — deserve far more thought. Ms. O'Connell-Sundaram says: let's organize a conference to give this complex question more careful thought. Mr. Chynoweth says she should go back and read her Catholic Catechism first, and that Mr. Tennyson should not talk about the subject at all until he digests the writings of nine – or is it ten? — authors, not overlooking the question's "theological aspects covered by the Vatican." Yes, we all could be better informed about this and any serious question, but if all that reading merely induces Mr. Chynoweth to strain this hard to disagree with his friends, one wonders if it is really so efficacious for serious thought. CPR

SPIRIT OF THE RECALL

Shelton

(Continued from page 22)

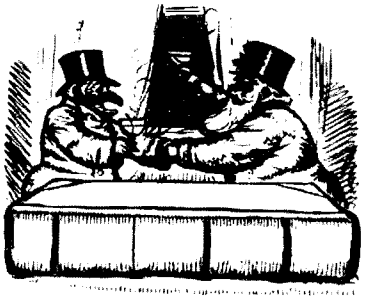
selves in the near-death position of being on the wrong side of paycheck protection: a ballot measure the passage of which could with one stroke trigger the collapse of their entire political structure. This is comparable to national Democrats who need only lose the battle over the president's authority to name law-abiding judges to see their role as a national political power come to an end.

Of course, among the oldest, and still truest, rules in politics is that you can't beat something with nothing. Republicans can still lose this battle, and set themselves back several years in all probability by doing so, if they — the governor's team especially — continue to leave the left a largely open, unchallenged field to fight the election.

The governor has certainly lost ground, and will have to move into high gear to regain his momentum. But he is by far the one best positioned to explain why paycheck protection and redistricting reform must pass and to deflect the charges union bosses will hurl against them. He still finds an historic opportunity before him: an active, nimble, hard-faught campaign for redistricting and union political reform (or for union reform alone if Bill Lockyer has his way) could still strike state Democrats a lethal blow.

Perhaps our GOP governor with a Democrat wife and several Democrat friends doesn't really want that; but the Democrat Party is simply too dependent upon exactly the corrupt structure the governor has set out to take down for it to survive if the Schwarzenegger side wins. CPR

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



CRITICUS

Juneteenth, anyone?

BY G.B. TENNYSON

JUST LAST MONTH, on the nineteenth of June to be precise, a portion of the populace, consisting chiefly of black Americans, celebrated the anniversary of what has come to be known as "Juneteenth" by the running together of the month and day into its own distinctive word. Given the increasing media coverage of this commemoration, there are doubtless many who know the significance of this date. But for those of you who remain in ignorance of the meaning of it all, Criticus offers a brief description and commentary as an introduction to the larger issue of holidays and commemorations, a subject that has long fascinated him and should be of interest to all.

Juneteenth commemorates the date in 1865 on which a Union warship arrived in Galveston, Texas, and Union general Gordon Granger read the Emancipation Proclamation to the multitude. It was then that Texas with its 250,000 slaves learned that the Confederacy had surrendered and that the slaves were now free. Even so it took some time before the news spread throughout the state, with plantation owners reading the proclamation to their slaves over the following months (some owners, one suspects, later rather than sooner); but the date of the initial news is the date that became a day of celebration among blacks in Texas. History buffs will know that the date of Confederate surrender at Appomattox Court House, Virginia, was April 9, 1865, and that the date of the last Confederate army to surrender was May 26 at Shreveport, Louisiana. Those same knowledgeable folk will know that the date of Lincoln's proclamation was January 1, 1863, years before the surrender and years before news of the proclamation reached Texas. They will also know, however, that Lincoln's politically calculated move actually changed nothing, since it exempted slave states that remained in the Union where it could have been enforced and was of course ignored in the Confederacy where it could not be enforced. Indeed, the legality of the proclamation can still be ques-

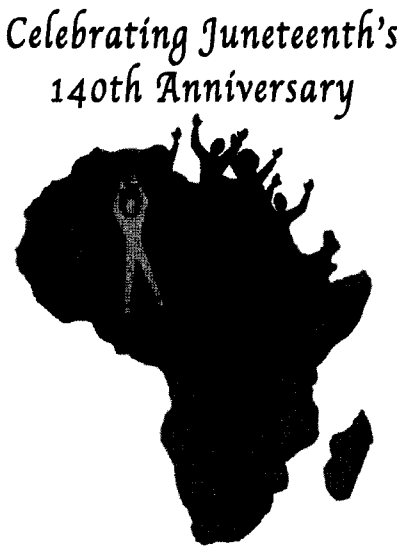
G.B. Tennyson was once told that you get ten years indulgence every time you cross the threshold of St. Peter's, so on a visit to Rome he stepped repeatedly back and forth over the threshold until a holier and wiser than he informed him that it only counted if you stepped over and proceeded inside to pray. This probably disqualifies him from being CPR's *Vatican correspondent, but he is trying.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tioned. What made it law was the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution, which is itself another story.

In Texas, of course, all of this delay went unremarked, so from April 9th 1865 to June 19th and beyond Texas slaves still labored on in the same old way. Perhaps the lateness of the news made it all the more meaningful to those who were emancipated and thus contributed to the widespread and spontaneous celebrations that over time became a uniquely Texas event. Land in many Texas cities was bought by various black associations and usually named Emancipation Park and became the sites of annual Juneteenth celebrations. These flourished for decades after the initial event and indeed never entirely ceased being observed, even in some places outside Texas, but by 1960 and the black activist stress on integration, Juneteenth observances had declined in popularity. By the late seventies, however, interest revived and by 1979 the Texas Legislature passed and the governor signed an act making June 19 a state holiday. The first such state-sponsored observance occurred in 1980. Since that time celebrations have sprung up in other cities throughout the country and several states have made the date an official, albeit only a ceremonial, holiday. Not surprisingly, there is a movement to make the day a national holiday. Whether this will succeed in the light of the existence of Martin Luther King Day and Black History Month remains to be seen. There are after all those who would like to see a special day for George Washington restored to the calendar; and Criticus wants to re-establish the terms Decoration Day and Armistice Day, but that's another Lost Cause.

Apart from the merits of making Juneteenth a national holiday, the origin of the day tells us a great deal about the origins and nature of holidays in general, much of which has been forgotten or never known by the *homme moyen sensuel.* One hopes that every schoolboy knows or can puzzle out the original meaning of the word *holiday* itself. Of course it means holy day. And of course it was used to refer to religious observances, such as important days on the church calendar (Christmas, Easter, and the like) as well as saints' days. In fact, holy day was the term from the beginning in Anglo-Saxon (or Old English) and other Germanic tongues, surviving today also in Scandinavian languages, although surprisingly not in modern German, which is generally more conservative than English. There the term is *Feiertag,* celebration day, which calls up the idea embodied in the words in Romance languages, which are some form of the word for *festival — festum, dies festus, festa, fête, fiesta.* Indeed, on the traditional Church calendar a saint's day would be designated, for example, "I.f. St. Anthony of Padua," that is, "In festo" or "On the feast of St. Anthony of Padua."

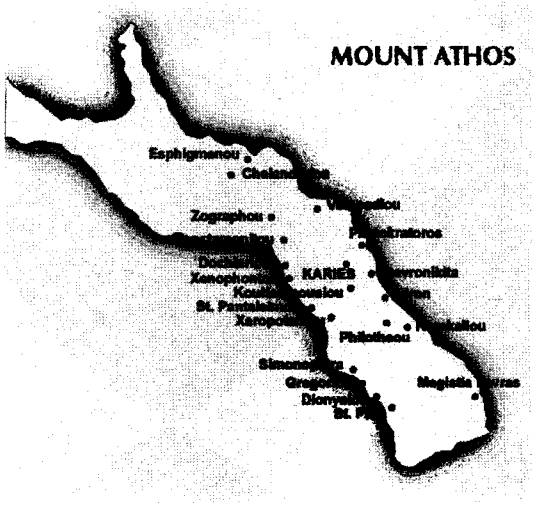


The obvious reason for the ecclesiastical usage of "In festo" is that the Church simply adapted the existing and pre-Christian word for a feast or celebration. Evidently by the time Christianity reached northern Europe the natives used their own word to designate special reverence for saints and religious days, that is, the word for *holy. Feast* and *festival* came along later but still relatively early, about the thirteenth century, and also in conjunction with religious festivals, but they did not replace the native word. Something else happened to both of them.

That something else was the gradual secularization of both *holiday* and *festival,* a secularization now so complete that neither word conjures up instantly in the mind of native speakers anything specifically religious, unless it be accompanied by a modifying word — Christmas Holiday, say, or Festival of Lights. By themselves each word — *holiday* and *festival* — suggests quite secular activities. One can have a festival on almost any topic, though it usually suggests some sort of honoring of that topic along with general jollity. Thus Criticus recently saw banners on lampposts an-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

nouncing a "Greek Festival," held to be sure at a Greek Orthodox church but honoring more or less everything secularly Greek — dancing, drinking, dolmathes, fat weddings, the Aegean, and the Parthenon. (I suppose they left the Elgin Marbles out of it.) But not as far as I could tell anything about Mount Athos. It is after all a very sexist place and one that still observes holidays in the original sense of that word.



OUTSIDE OF monasteries and nunneries there has been an even further secularization of the word *holiday,* at least in Britain, where it has come to mean what Americans would call *vacation.* "Let's go on holiday to Bali," if said in London, carries no hint whatsoever of anything remotely religious, rather the contrary. American *vacation,* of course is also resolutely secular, deriving as it does from the Latin through French, meaning to be absent, to be free, to vacate one's customary haunts, to go away. *Holiday* to the American mind means, first of all, a day off work, and secondly, something vaguely patriotic, like July 4th, one of the few remaining national holidays still tied to a specific date (I can think of only four), most of the others having migrated to the nearest Monday, proving, of course, that the point is a day off work designed to facilitate a long weekend, a mini-vacation. But both terms mean, above all, pleasure, indulgence, having fun, fun, fun. Even the advocates of Juneteenth as a national holiday want it to fall on the third Sunday in June, which curiously in this year it actually did. If it ever comes about, be assured that it will soon be the Monday following the third Sunday in June, considering that the third Sunday is already Father's Day. Can you imagine if Father's Day became in effect a three-day weekend? What would mothers say?

Now, for all you Constant Readers and others who have persevered this far, here is the point of juncture between Juneteenth and holidays and festivals. First we must recognize that festivals of various kinds are older than recorded history. There seem always to have been harvest festivals and festivals to mark the changing of the seasons or royal anniversaries and births and just about any event that gave cause for rejoicing. What the Church did was to adapt the age-old practice of feasts (and for that matter fasts) to its own purposes. Some festivals were especially designed to fall in or around the time of pre-existing pagan celebrations and thus replace them while maintaining the annual rhythm, which was altogether a clever move.

Where the Church appears to have gone paganism and earlier religions one better, or many better, was in the practice of incorporating saints and their days into the great scheme of festivals. The first saints were of course those immediately associated with Jesus, the Holy Family itself, the disciples and followers, but early on as Christianity spread those saintly numbers were swelled by the special status of individuals who by their acts, including martyrdom, and by their devotion gained special acknowledgment and became celebrated and, usually after death, venerated. Initially they were the objects of local honor and worshipful veneration, commonly called *cultus* (from the same source for our words *culture, cultivation,* and of course *cult,* but not in the sense of zany groups following bizarre leaders). The religious figures who inspired cultus had their virtues linked to a specific day, usually the day of death. Many were also held to be the patron saint of some occupation or activity and ultimately indeed of entire countries. This veneration spread, and in the fullness of time became recognized by the Church as a whole, and the admired individuals would be accorded recognition as saints (from the Latin *sanctus* or holy). Eventually the system of formal canonization developed, still in use today, though modified and, oddly enough, less rigorous than it had become in the Middle Ages.

THE KEY here, for our purposes is the matter of cultus, that is, the local glorification and veneration of particular individuals and sometimes of particular events, such as preservation from the plague or a notable battle. Often observances of these persons or events remained, and in many cases still remain, local. Traveling about the world one frequently bumps into some celebration of a local saint or event peculiar to a certain

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

town or place, the whole usually involving a parade, costumes, music, and all the rest. Criticus has always thought it would be most edifying to be in the cathedral in Naples on one of the eighteen days each year that a vial containing the dried blood of St. Januarius (or Gennaro, feast day 19 September) is brought forth and in a while liquefies before the eyes of the beholders. This is said to have been rigorously examined but with no explanation ever found for it.

Closer to hand but also unseen by Criticus are the images of the Blessed Virgin that pop up on walls and windows of buildings and, of course, those allegedly appearing on food items like tacos, which strikes Criticus as somehow indecorous and beneath the B.V.M.

But that may be pure snobbism. I suppose Our Lady can appear wherever she pleases, and nowadays many are more likely to be reached by an image on a commonplace object than by the most glorious stained glass. As for me, I'll take Chartres over a tortilla. But I want to avoid giving scandal to the faithful, so I shall drop this line of thought.

Not to be dropped, however, is the way in which even saints' days and holy days have had to share space with secularization. If the mediaeval peasant went through the year living by holy days, the modern western office wage slave goes through the year guided by secular holidays, with a few nominally Christian ones thrown in. One can tell which celebrations really matter, in America at least, by observing the seasonal displays in drug stores and supermarkets. To judge by such the major holidays or festival days are New Year's Day, Valentine's Day, St. Patrick's Day, Easter, Mother's Day, Father's Day, July 4th, Halloween, Thanksgiving, and Christmas, with subsets based on local populations such as the Day of the Dead and Chanukah, and the department store subsets such as Summertime and Back to School. (These latter two are beginning to bump into one another, with swim suit ads being jostled at least as early as August by back to school ads.) Of the ten constituting Criticus's major list, only three (forget St. Valentine) are technically religious and the Irish one of them is dubious. The three are: St. Patrick's Day, Easter, and Christmas. Each of these has been so commercialized and secularized that they conjure up images of things like green beer, candy bunnies, and the rotund gentleman in red sliding down your chimney, which is perhaps the only commercially recognized miracle, doubtless soon to be banned by the ACLU.

It would be most edifying to be in the cathedral in Naples on one of the 18 days each year that a vial containing the dried blood of St. Januarius liquefies before the eyes of the beholders.

What all the foregoing shows is that the secularization of the terms holiday and festival has moved in tandem with the secularization of Western society. It were a chicken and egg problem to determine which came first.

WHAT IS clear, however, is what has triumphed. It is secularization. Of course religion continues on and may well outlast the purely secular society as it has outlasted Stalin's divisions, but it remains nonetheless at present in the background of public awareness both in its European heartland and in America. Although religious belief and observance are more prevalent in America than in Europe, Criticus would wager that more Americans know who Michael Jackson is than who the current Pope is. By the way, have you heard the one that says that upon his accession the current Pope changed from being God's Rottweiler to be being God's German Shepherd?

Enough of that. It's back to the secular. And here is the proof. We all know that there are countless days of celebration, commemoration, remembrance, and the like throughout the country. Some of them are quite odd by conventional standards. For oddities Criticus enjoys dipping into a gift book titled *Weird U.S.* by Mark Moran and Mark Sceurman. It is a heavily illustrated compilation of odd places, local legends, strange architecture, weird cemeteries, and other curiosities — a perfect bathroom book. But it does not for the most part deal with the issues being addressed here. For that we must turn to a volume that Criticus with some embarrassment confesses he never knew the existence of until recently, although it is now in its forty-eighth edition. The work is *Chase's Calendar of Events.* It is a massive 752 oversized, double-columned pages containing more than 12,000 entries for the year 2005. These do not for the most part include those saints'

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

days I have been referring to, though they include the major holidays of the main world religions. And a great deal more.

THE GREATER portion of the book is a month by month, day by day listing with commentary and information on virtually every event that one could imagine and many more than one could not. Open at random to find that April 4 this year was "National Workplace Napping Day," when employees are supposed to rest their heads on their desks for a brief nap. It occurs on the first Monday following the advent of daylight savings time. For fun I looked up the birthdays of various friends and family members to find what silly event or commemoration fell on their days. When I discovered that my own fell on "Embrace Your Geekness Day." I decided not to tease others. But on a more useful note, this volume lists and explains all those special such-and-such months and weeks, such as "International Twit Award Month," "Hunt for Happiness Week," "Knock-Knock Day," and the deaths of just about any person of any notoriety at all. The whole collection makes the *World Almanac* look like a small pamphlet.

GREEN, HETTY: BIRTH ANNIVERSARY. Nov 21. 1835. Henrietta Howland Robinson Green, better known as Hetty Green, reported to have been the richest woman in America, was born at New Bedford, MA. She was an able financier who managed her own wealth, which was estimated to have been in excess of $100 million. Died at New York, NY, July 3, 1916.

NORTH CAROLINA: RATIFICATION DAY. Nov 21. 12th state to ratify Constitution in 1789.

POPE BENEDICT XV: BIRTH ANNIVERSARY. Nov 21. 1854. Giacomo dela Chiesa, 258th pope of the Roman Catholic Church, born at Pegli, Italy, and elected pope Sept 3, 1914. Died at Rome, Italy, Jan 22, 1922.

PUMPKIN PIE DAY. Nov 21. Making pumpkin pies is a family tradition that goes back generations. People associate the sweet smell of pumpkin pie with the late fall. For info: Cindy Benson, 13116 Frog Hollow Ct, Oak Hill, VA 20171. Phone: (703) 471-5784. E-mail: benson1984@aol.com.

PURCELL, HENRY: DEATH ANNIVERSARY. Nov 21, 1695 (OS). English composer of the early Baroque period was born at London circa 1659. Purcell's work includes more than 100 songs, the opera *Dido and Aeneas* and *The Fairy Queen*, incidental music for a version of Shakespeare's *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. Purcell died at London.

UNITED NATIONS: WORLD TELEVISION DAY. Nov 21. On Dec 17, 1996, the General Assembly proclaimed this day as World Television Day, commemorating the date in 1996 on which the first World Television Forum was held at the UN. For info: United Nations, Dept of Public Info, New York, NY 10017. Web: www.un.org.

Without seeking to do so *Chase's Calendar* also illustrates a point I have been making all along. Virtually every entry in the volume is one that people have found notable and want to remember or at least an event that some would like others to find as notable as they do. That applies to the more *outré* entries, which have often been devised out of whole cloth by individuals and societies. In such cases the volume provides the name and address of the group or society that created the day, presumably to enable others to contact them to facilitate honoring the event in their home towns or perhaps creating a new one. One such group appears repeatedly in connection with unusual days, suggesting to Criticus that creating special commemorations is the hobby or perhaps a professional business of the organization named. I forbear to cite it to avoid tempting readers to contact the company urging some new day and thus contributing yet another entry to the more than 12,000 already contained in the book. But even these artificially created commemorations attest to the human need for special days, and special weeks and months for that matter. If the observance of saints' days has largely fallen into desuetude, the need for that kind of special day has not.

Which brings us back to Juneteenth. It is an excellent example of how special commemorations arise in response to special circumstances. I am grateful that it popped up just around the time when I was thinking about the origins and nature of saints' days and other commemorations. All the same, I doubt that it will become a national holiday, and what is more I think it ought not. Multiculturalism has gone quite far enough in this country. In the Los Angeles School District black attendance plummets at Cinco de Mayo time, and Hispanic attendance would do the same if Juneteenth were added. The reason: fear of racially motivated violence, of which plenty already exists in the school system. There have even been altercations at one school between Hispanics and Armenians, over what I can't imagine. Perhaps it was primacy of victimhood, but then the Armenians should have been fighting Turks, though they may be in short supply in California. I can remember years back at a large meeting about racism at UCLA when a militant black woman arose from the audience and shouted at the speaker, a Jewish student, "Oh, just shut up about your damned six million! They killed more than ten million of *my* people in the Middle Passage."

So, let them celebrate the Texas state holiday in local parks with barbecue and strawberry flavored red soda water (the traditional Texas drink for that day, for reasons unknown to Criticus), but let us leave the day to Texas.

MEANTIME, IF YOU'VE LOST ANYTHING, remember to pray to St. Anthony of Padua, for he is to be invoked for help in finding lost objects.

His feast day is 13 June. Is that not the true Juneteenth?

CPR

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Missing something?

— in the major media's political coverage

Perhaps it's time to try the
NEW *CPR Online*
at:

[redacted]

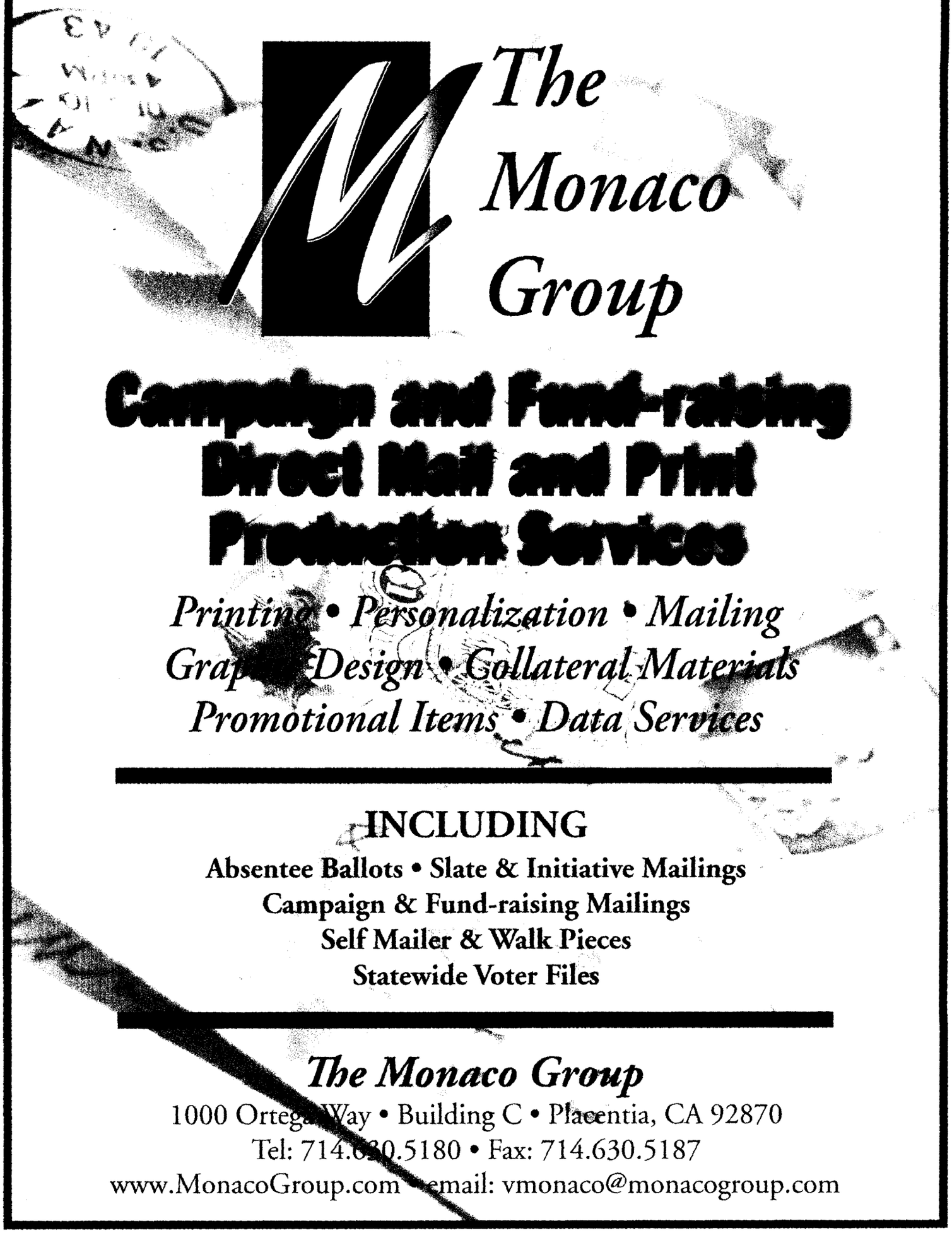
California's alternative source for state
political news and opinion.

Timely — Quick Reading — Politically Incorrect

Breaking News — Biting Commentary
featuring
William E. Saracino
Ray Haynes
John Kurzweil
and much more

CPR Online

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



The Monaco Group

Campaign and Fund-raising Direct Mail and Print Production Services

Printing • Personalization • Mailing
Graphic Design • Collateral Materials
Promotional Items • Data Services

INCLUDING

Absentee Ballots • Slate & Initiative Mailings
Campaign & Fund-raising Mailings
Self Mailer & Walk Pieces
Statewide Voter Files

The Monaco Group

1000 Ortega Way • Building C • Placentia, CA 92870
Tel: 714.630.5180 • Fax: 714.630.5187
www.MonacoGroup.com • email: vmonaco@monacogroup.com

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED